

From the Nile to Nebo

Franklin E. Hoskins

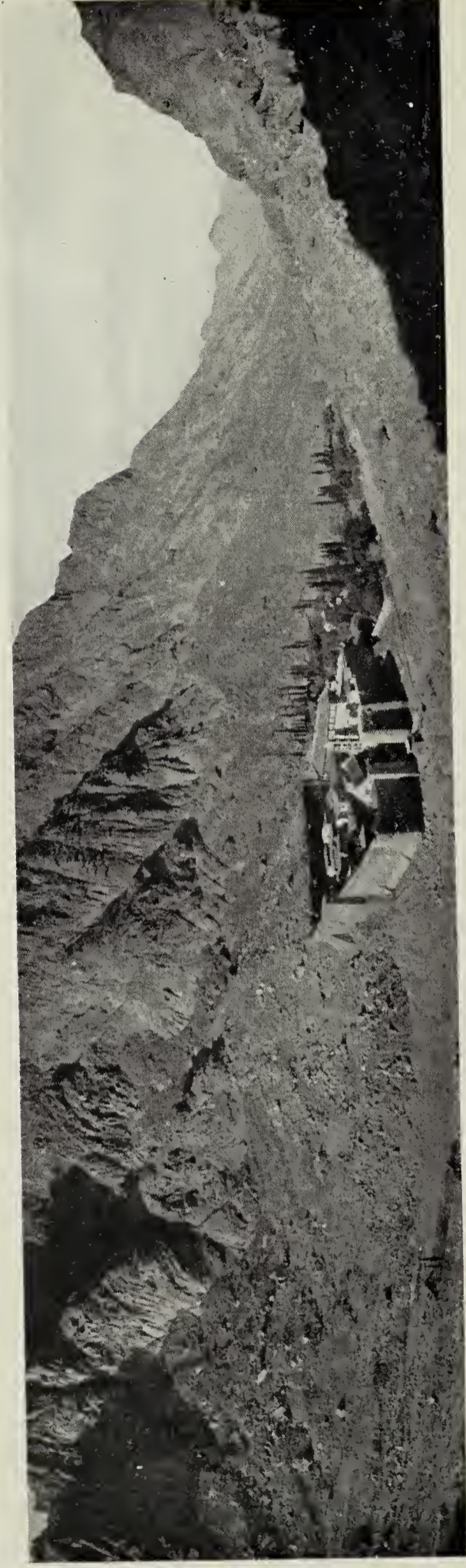


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The Monastery of St. Katharine at Sinai, built 527 A. D. Where the famous Codex Sinaiticus was found in 1844.
The "Mountain of the Law" is the granite mass behind and ascended by rude stairway

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From the Nile to Nebo

A Discussion of the Problem
and the Route of the
E X O D U S

By
FRANKLIN E. HOSKINS, D.D.

SYRIA MISSION, BEIRUT, SYRIA

WITH 85 ILLUSTRATIONS

PHILADELPHIA
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FRANKLIN E. HOSKINS, D.D.

TO
JOHN EHRICH PARMLY

and the others of my classmates and friends
who have upheld me with their gifts and prayers for
more than a quarter of a century of my life in Syria, the
Promised Land of the Israelite and the
Home Land of the Christian,
I dedicate this volume as a token of my
sincere respect and imperishable
affection.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A. C.—“Auchincloss’ Chronology of the Holy Bible.”
Van Nostrand Co., New York, 1910.
- B. A. E.—“Breasted’s History of the Ancient Egyptians.”
Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1910.
- E. and W. A.—“Egypt and Western Asia,” King and Hall.
S. P. C. K., London, 1907.
- G. H. B.—“Hours With the Bible,” Geikie.
Allen, New York, 1887.
- H. D. B.—“Hastings’ Dictionary of the Bible,” 5 volumes.
T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1906.
- J. V. and P.—“Jordan Valley and Petra,” Libbey and Hoskins.
G. P. Putnam’s Sons, New York, 1905.
- P. D. E.—“Desert of the Exodus,” Palmer.
Harper & Brothers, New York, 1872.
- P. R. S.—“Researches in Sinai,” Petrie.
John Murray, London, 1905.
- T. H. E.—“The Historic Exodus,” Toffteen.
Luzac & Co., London, 1909.
- T. K. B.—“Kadesh Barnea,” Trumbull.
Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1884.

FOREWORD

THIS book has grown out of a life plan of the author to study the Bible where it was produced, to read its stories and review its events where they occurred. A residence of twenty-eight years in Syria has given me opportunities for repeated journeys to all parts of the Holy Land, to the country east of the Jordan, to Edom, Moab, and Petra.¹ More recent journeys have carried me into the Desert of the Exodus. A knowledge of the Arabic language, acquired during the past twenty-four years while a member of the Syria Mission, has opened the storehouse of customs, traditions and inner life of the people. Ten years' laborious study upon the text and references of the Arabic Bible, in the Land of the Book itself, have yielded pleasant fruits of interpretation, which are not easily accessible to those who have been obliged to study it in foreign lands and foreign languages. Acquaintance with many of the scholars and explorers of the last quarter of a century has enabled me to follow their investigations and theories with pleasure and with ease. And finally, an extensive review of the best modern literature on the Pentateuch are the preparation and qualifications I have for the task. Almost everything I have ever read or studied has been weighed and modified by intimate and extended knowledge of the land and its people at the localities of the events themselves.

The greatest volumes ever produced on the Holy Land are Robinson's "Biblical Researches" and Thomson's

¹ See "Jordan Valley and Petra."

“Land and the Book.” Dr. Robinson’s “Researches” were the fruit of thirty years’ preparation at home in the United States and of personal travels in the Holy Land in 1832, 1852 and 1856. His travelling companion and co-laborer on his first two trips was the Rev. Eli Smith, D. D., and on his third trip Dr. Smith and Dr. Wm. Thomson, and to them, with Dr. Robinson, the Christian world is under lasting obligation. Robinson’s “Researches” have been the source and authority for all the guide-books and most of the encyclopedia articles during the past fifty years. Dr. Thomson’s “Land and the Book” has done more to familiarize the Christian world with the Holy Land and the Bible than any other hundred books ever written.

Now, Dr. Eli Smith, followed by Dr. C. V. A. Van Dyck, were the translators of the modern Arabic Bible. It has been my supreme privilege to follow their footsteps, albeit afar off, in adding something to the value of that great translation. It was also my privilege to know Dr. Thomson toward the end of his life when he was revising his volumes for the last time. And it will be another greater privilege if in this volume I can add, in the light of later research, some small increment to the real knowledge of the Bible.

After I had written more than half of its contents in a form that would have delighted the makers of a cyclopedia and other books of reference, it occurred to me that I was writing something that my children would not read and which might prove unattractive to my classmates and friends to whom I have dedicated the volume. I had carefully divided the subject matter into two main divisions, the Problem and the Route, but I then decided to weave the whole material into the story itself, discussing the various problems and theories and hypotheses, as it were, by the way.

It is a pleasure to see so much of our former volumes,

“The Jordan Valley and Petra,” made use of by Bible dictionaries and even by the new Encyclopedia Britannica, but it will be a greater pleasure if I can give to my children and my friends and to perhaps some other students of the Bible some common-sense clues which will enable them to find their way pleasantly and successfully through the mazes of theories and hypotheses and controversies which, in every age, seem to mass themselves around the Bible. So I shall discuss the matter of chronology the moment we reach Egypt. The date of the Exodus I will review when we spend a Sabbath at Elim under its palm trees. The important question concerning the number of people who went out in the Exodus I will take care of when we reach the Oasis of Feiran, and I shall leave the matter of the documents and their theories for some quiet hours in the famous Library of the Convent on Mount Sinai. I shall make no apology for frequent repetition of some of the more important ideas whenever they will throw additional light or receive greater confirmation from the facts or problems under special consideration. I shall not hesitate to suggest where the hasty reader may skip a chapter if he wishes simply to follow the narrative or the Problem, and in this way I trust that I may get both my children and my friends safely through the volume.

Of the eighty-five illustrations, five are reproduced by permission of Professor W. M. F. Petrie, from his “Researches in Sinai,” twelve are the joint work of Professor Libbey and the author, two by Professor Myers and the author, fifty-eight from original photographs by the author, and the remaining eight from sources indicated on the photos themselves.

My sincere thanks are due to Professors Libbey and Hoskins, of Princeton University, and to Professor W. Horace Hoskins, of the University of Pennsylvania, for their assistance in putting this volume through the press.

INTRODUCTORY

A FEW years ago a young woman about to visit the Holy Land called on an old lady friend who loved her Bible and read it frequently from beginning to end, and told her that she soon hoped to see Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Galilee and all the places associated with the life of Christ. The old lady put down her work, removed her silver-rimmed spectacles and exclaimed: "Well now! I knew all those places were in the Bible, but I never thought of them being on the earth!"

It may, therefore, interest many of the readers of this volume to know that the Desert of the Exodus has an actual existence upon the face of the earth, and that the Route of the Exodus is being mapped and studied and photographed by enthusiastic scholars and travelers with results as interesting and as brilliant in their way as attended the modern exploration of the Holy Land and Egypt.

It brings the doings of the Children of Israel in the Pentateuch much closer to modern life when we realize that the Route of the Exodus is cut in its first section by the Suez Canal (see map, p. 378), one of the greatest human enterprises on our planet; that the Mecca Pilgrimage Railway follows that Route in its upper stretches from a point near the Red Sea, Zalmonah, northward for more than a hundred miles through Edom and Moab; and again, from Rabbath Ammon another 62 miles to Edrei, once the capital of Og, King of Bashan (Num. 21: 33), but

now a railroad center where the three lines from the sea-coast at Carmel, from Damascus and from Mecca meet. Many will be surprised to learn that a telegraph wire now stretches through the desert from Suez to Tor, a little port just below Mount Sinai; that another wire connects Damascus *via* Ma'an, with Akaba opposite Ezion Geber on the Red Sea; that a steam launch now navigates the Dead Sea and the Jordan River below Jericho, and that tourist agencies have added "Sinai and the Desert of the Exodus, Edom and Moab" to their wall signs and tourist routes.

Many journeys reaching through many years in the Holy Land and the trans-Jordan country preceded this latest journey through the Desert of the Exodus. It came through the kindness of the Rev. John F. Goucher, D. D., the founder of Goucher College, Baltimore, who was also accompanied by Mr. S. Earl Taylor, of New York, in the spring of 1909. We followed the Route of the Children of Israel from Egypt through the Sinaitic Peninsula, Mount Seir, Edom and Moab, Amman and the Jabbok, to the Jordan and Jericho. It was a journey for me of 85 days, in which we traveled 1900 miles; not a big record until the reader realizes that 109 hours of the journey we accomplished on camels, the slowest mode of locomotion in the Orient—less than three miles an hour—and another 162 hours on horses, at a little more than four miles an hour.

The desert section of about 1000 miles on camels and horses occupied 40 days—a day for each year of the Exodus. We enjoyed perfect health and came home without a single accident or loss to any member of our large caravan. Through the desert we had as many as 22 camels and 16 cameleers, while on our way from Akaba to Petra we had a guard of 19 soldiers, which, with our muleteers and camp servants, made 33 persons, while the horses, mules, camels and donkeys numbered 38, or 71 thirsty mouths to be pro-

vided for in a land where water was more precious than gold. Out of twenty camps between Suez and Akaba, ten were absolutely waterless. Twice the camels went three days' journey without a drop of water, and once they were forced to go four days' journey to the next watering-place.

We camped literally within the Old Testament, pitching our tents thirty-two times between the Nile and the Jordan. It was a physical review of some of the greatest events and characters in human history. There was a strange thrill in dating letters from "The Jabbok, Genesis 32: 22," where Jacob wrestled with the Angel; from "The Nile, Gen. 41: 1," where Joseph first came into contact with Pharaoh; from "Sinai, Exodus 33: 11," where Jehovah spake with Moses face to face, and from "Nebo, Deut. 34: 6," in the land of Moab, where Moses had his only view of the Promised Land, where "the angels of God upturned the sod" for that lonely and unknown grave. While it cannot be insisted upon too sharply that the Exodus is no imaginary journey, there is a sense in which the dear old lady was right, for so many of these events and places belong to the geography of the human soul in its exile, its bondage, its wanderings, its glimpses of the Promised Land and its return to home and heaven at last.

Crossing the Suez arm of the Red Sea and journeying "three days in the wilderness," we spent a quiet Sabbath among the palms of Elim (Ex. 15: 27) and drank from its springs of water. Another six days' journey carried us along "by the Red Sea, through the wilderness of Sin," past Rephidim to Mount Sinai, on whose sublime summit we spent a part of our second Sabbath. Another five camps carried us down from Sinai past Hazeroth, through the Wilderness of Paran, and well up along the coast of the Gulf of Akaba to Elath and Ezion Geber. Crossing the great cleft of the Arabah, south of the Dead Sea, we climbed into the mountains of Edom, and from the summit of the tradi-

tional Hor had, like Aaron, our first glimpse of the Promised Land. Then followed a series of camps by the Arnon, along the breezy plateau of Moab, culminating in a never-to-be-forgotten Sabbath on Nebo itself, with its matchless view embracing so much of all succeeding Bible history, not to mention Greece and Rome and the empires lasting till the present hour. For over against the sky line, neglecting every other feature in the wide expanse as seen from Nebo, rises the Mount of Olives, where Russia, Austria, Germany and the other Christian nations of the West are still striving for possession of the Promised Land, while the real owners, the Jews, are scattered over the face of the earth. It is a small and unimportant looking land upon a map of the world and yet so great in human history. After Nebo came some lovely camps by the quiet waters of Jabbok, among the woody glades of Gilead, on the "stormy banks" of the Jordan, which marks the close of the Exodus and the beginning of the conquest of Canaan.

FROM THE NILE TO NEBO

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS

THE problem of the Exodus involves (1) a discussion of Chronology and (2) the date of the Exodus, (3) a glance at the documents and their theories which bear upon the historicity of the movement, and (4) a definite opinion concerning the number of people who went out on this famous journey. These involve some knowledge of the historical background of the Exodus as seen in Egypt, Sinai and Syria at the dates agreed upon. And those who have not followed closely the course of exploration and investigation will be amazed at the flood of light that has been let in upon all that section of human history.

The Problem, necessarily difficult in itself, has been complicated by a misreading of the Bible, by the confusion of mental processes and ideas which belong to other lands and centuries, by absolute misconceptions gained through art and song, and by the exaggeration of a number of subsidiary and minor problems which vanish with the first breath of the desert air. Many are apt to think of the Children of Israel as spending forty years on the road to Canaan, but, as a matter of fact, "thirty-nine of these years were spent in camp, and only one year was consumed in covering the entire journey of 1100 miles between Raamses and the River Jordan." Others are apt to think of the Exodus as having occurred in such a remote and

vaguely indefinite past that we can never know anything accurate of its exact location in time. While authorities have differed to the extent of 100 or even 200 years, yet it is certain that each fresh examination of the problem in the light of the most recent discoveries brings us closer to the actual dates. There are great difficulties in settling all dates for events the other side of the Christian era, but the data for Bible dates are superior to all other human records. Scholars have followed up ingenious clues, have made such good use of known astronomical facts and the known sequence of Jewish feasts that they venture to fix not only the year, but even the month and the day when the Children of Israel left Raamses in the land of Egypt, and also the date of the crossing of the Jordan and their entrance into the Promised Land.¹

Great confusion of thought has gathered round the words "miracle" and "supernatural." As a recent writer² has well said: "Everything we *admire* is literally a *miracle*," and among primitive peoples of all nations almost anything unusual was taken as "a sign and a wonder." "To most ages of mankind there has been no dividing line between the natural and the non-natural; so much is inexplicable to the untrained mind that no trouble was taken to define whether an event would happen in the natural course or not." We modern thinkers have practically abolished the distinction between the "natural" and the "supernatural." We now distinguish sharply between the co-natural and non-natural, and have almost refused to use the word *supernatural* because of the confusion of mind occasioned by its mistaken uses. "A strong east wind drives the Red Sea back; another wind blows up a flock of quails; cutting a rock brings a water supply to view, and the writers of these accounts record such matters as wondrous benefits of the timely action of natural causes."

¹ Auchincloss, April 19, 1477, and March 21, 1437 B. C.

² Petrie, "Researches in Sinai," p. 201.

Modern believers in Divine providence—and no one in our day can accept either the blind chance theory of the universe or that we are helpless automata—see incontestable evidence of God's care in the coincidence of these wonderful events with the desperate needs of the Children of Israel. With more light from many sources we shall modify our conceptions of many of these occurrences, but the facts will stand as long as the granite cliffs of Sinai.

The passage of the Akaba arm of the Red Sea at the outset, the appearance of the quails, and the crossing of the Jordan forty years later, are by no means the greatest difficulties and wonders of the Exodus. Those who have wandered over the sand dunes of the desert, have lost themselves among the shallow lagoons and have watched the rise and fall of the tides among the inlets about Suez, will have little difficulty in conceiving what may have happened in combination with "a strong east wind." There is good authority for an entire stoppage of the flow of the Jordan river by a landslide near Tell ed Damieh during the 13th century,¹ and those who saw people walk across the brink of Niagara Falls when the river-bed was left almost dry by reason of an ice-gorge above will not tarry long on the passage of the Jordan.

After we left Elim and were approaching the sea-coast one of our cameleers suddenly rushed ahead of us some twenty-five yards, and in a minute or two returned with a live quail in his hands which he had just caught. This event, occurring at the very region where the Children of Israel were so abundantly fed by the flocks of quails wearied by their flight over the Akaba arm of the Red Sea, was a wholly unexpected exemplification of the phenomena of the Bible. It was the same east wind blowing over the same sheet of water into the same maze of valleys that brought

¹ A. D. 1267. See "Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly," July, 1895, pp. 253-261.

us our quail so weary as to be easily secured by the Bedawy of to-day. There is abundant confirmation from other sources that our experience was by no means unique.

The Bible record is complete as to the Route of the Exodus, but many fail to realize this because the history of the journey is scattered through six of the Old Testament books, the record changing back and forth from one place to another nearly a hundred times. Mr. W. S. Auchincloss, C. E., in his little booklet, "To Canaan in One Year,"¹ has made a scholarly and valuable contribution to the Problem of the Exodus in assembling and harmonizing all the Bible references and illustrating the Route by an Itinerary Map. In order to bring out the names of places with greater clearness he has omitted the mountain ranges and gorges, but "in plotting the line of march both their location and the gradients overcome have been carefully taken into account, hence the course shown is topographically correct." This map and its accompanying letter press was one of the most valuable books of reference that we carried into the wilderness.

For convenience we will divide the Route into four sections: (1) Raamses to Sinai, (2) Sinai to Akaba, (3) Akaba to Kadesh Barnea and return, and (4) Akaba to Jericho.

In general, it may be said that the first section of the route from Raamses to Sinai is known perfectly, and the recovery of most of the ancient names is simply a matter of time. The last section of the route from Elath on the Gulf of Akaba to Jericho is also well known, and it is of enchanting interest to note that all the most prominent towns mentioned in the books of Exodus and Numbers retain their ancient names to this present hour. Ma'an, Dibon, Madeba, Heshbon, Amman, Edrei, Kenath, Salchad and Jericho are all found on our modern maps and are well-known towns to travellers in that region. It is perhaps not too much to say that finally nine-tenths of all the names

¹ D. Van Nostrand Company, Murray Street, New York.

will be recovered, clinging to the ruins, the valleys and the mountains of that region.

The section of the Route between Sinai and Ezion Geber is now well known, but because it is an almost uninhabited desert the recovery of these ancient names has not yet progressed very far. But we have great pleasure in printing with Chapters XXV and XXVI some almost unique views of Hazeroth and the country about Ezion Geber.

The Loop section of the Route between Ezion Geber and Elath is the least well-explored portion. It contains the well-known names of Kadesh Barnea and Mount Hor, where Aaron died. Thirty-eight years of the journey were spent about Kadesh Barnea, and it is here if anywhere that actual remains of the Exodus will some day be found. The site of Kadesh Barnea has been made the subject of dispute, but it is more than probable that the modern Ain Kadis, with its copious spring, several wells and pools, is really the ancient Kadesh. An equally vigorous dispute still continues concerning the identification of Mount Hor. Some accept the Jebel Madurah, not far from Kadesh, but tradition as old as Josephus, accepted by Jerome and supported by the unanimous traditions of the Muhammadan and Jewish writings, identify Mount Hor with the Jebel Neby Harun, about six miles south of Petra.¹ The Petra Mount Hor is by far the most imposing mountain (5900 feet), and the view from its summit embraces much more of the Promised Land than Aaron could have seen from Jebel Madurah.

Out of about eighty place names on or near the route as plotted by Mr. Auchincloss, at least forty are known and identified with all certainty; ten more are tentatively located; another ten have been conjectured, leaving only twenty of minor importance that are practically lost. Ancient names often itinerate with the changing currents

¹ See "Jordan Valley and Petra," Libbey and Hoskins, Vol. II, p. 243.

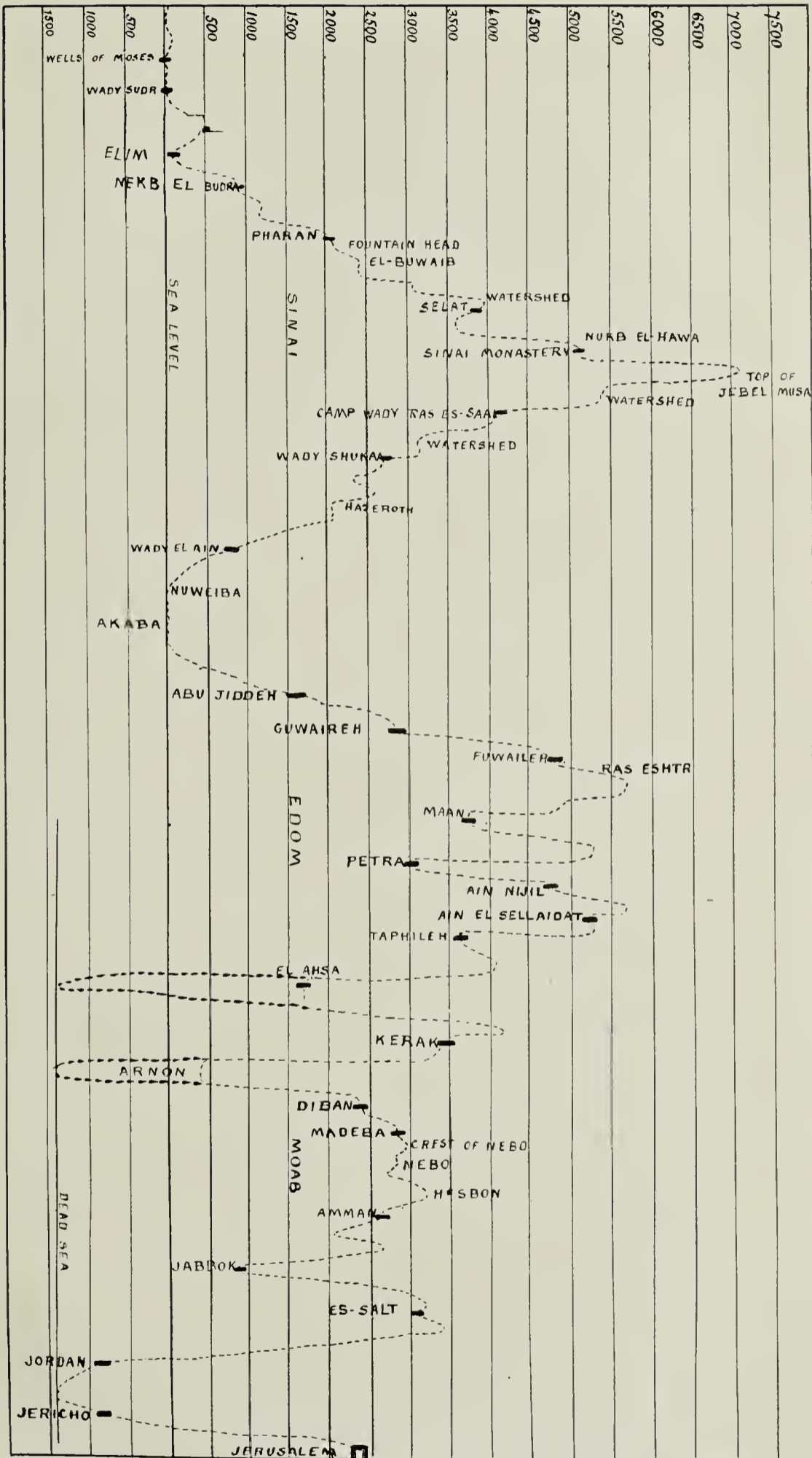
of human life about a certain locality, so that many of the names uncertain or lost will be picked up clinging to natural features or obscure ruins. A number of the camping-places of the Children of Israel were named from events occurring within the camp and may have left no trace in the wilderness.

No account of the Route that I have had access to gives any clear account of the wide range of elevations met and overcome by the Children of Israel between the Nile and the Jordan at Jericho. Professor Libbey and I called attention to this matter in "The Jordan Valley and Petra" (Vol. I, p. 34) concerning the East Jordan section of the Route, and here in the Sinai section we met with the same interesting surprise. The Sinai range, lifting itself to over 8500 feet, carried the Children of Israel to camps at Sinai, 5200 feet above the sea. Then followed a great drop again to the Akaba arm of the Red Sea, followed by a rise to over 5600 feet again, before we struck the great trans-Jordan rifts which are so striking in the fourth and last section of the Route. The Children of Israel lived eleven months at Sinai, over 5000 feet above the sea, and this fact may have given rise to the strange suggestion, wholly unsupported, that the manna was snow, which they had never before seen.

The elevation of Kadesh Barnea (Ain Kadis) is not given in any volume that I have had access to, but its climate must be much nearer that of Egypt than the climate of Sinai.

A glance at plate I (facing this page) will give in graphic form a clearer idea of what is meant. The dotted line represents the general height of our course, and the black bars, our camping-places. The heavy black dotted line at the Ahsa and the Arnon represents the extreme depth of these rifts, where they empty their streams into the Dead Sea. The Sinai section gives almost exactly the Route of the Israelites, excepting Kadesh Barnea. The Edom portion

Camping Places and Elevations



gives the heights overcome, but not the stations, while the Moab section again combines the elevations and the well-known stopping places, the Arnon, Dibon, Madeba, Nebo, the Jabbok and Jericho. From Suez to Sinai represents a rise of 5200 feet, then a steep drop to sea-level. The climb from Akaba to the highlands of Edom is a steep one, and while the Route of the Israelites did not include our ascent and descent to Petra, it did include the crossing of the titanic rifts of the Ahsa and the Arnon, and the final plunges through the Jabbok and below the sea-level to the Jordan, close to the Dead Sea. Between the highest point (5700 feet) in Edom and the Jordan is a range of over 7000 feet of perpendicular changes, which include a variety of climate, vegetation and atmosphere that includes almost as much as one of the larger continents would give us. Hence the fullness of Bible imagery from the shadows of the rock in a weary land to the storm of rain and hail, thunder and lightning and snow which sweep over the mountains of Edom in the winter.¹

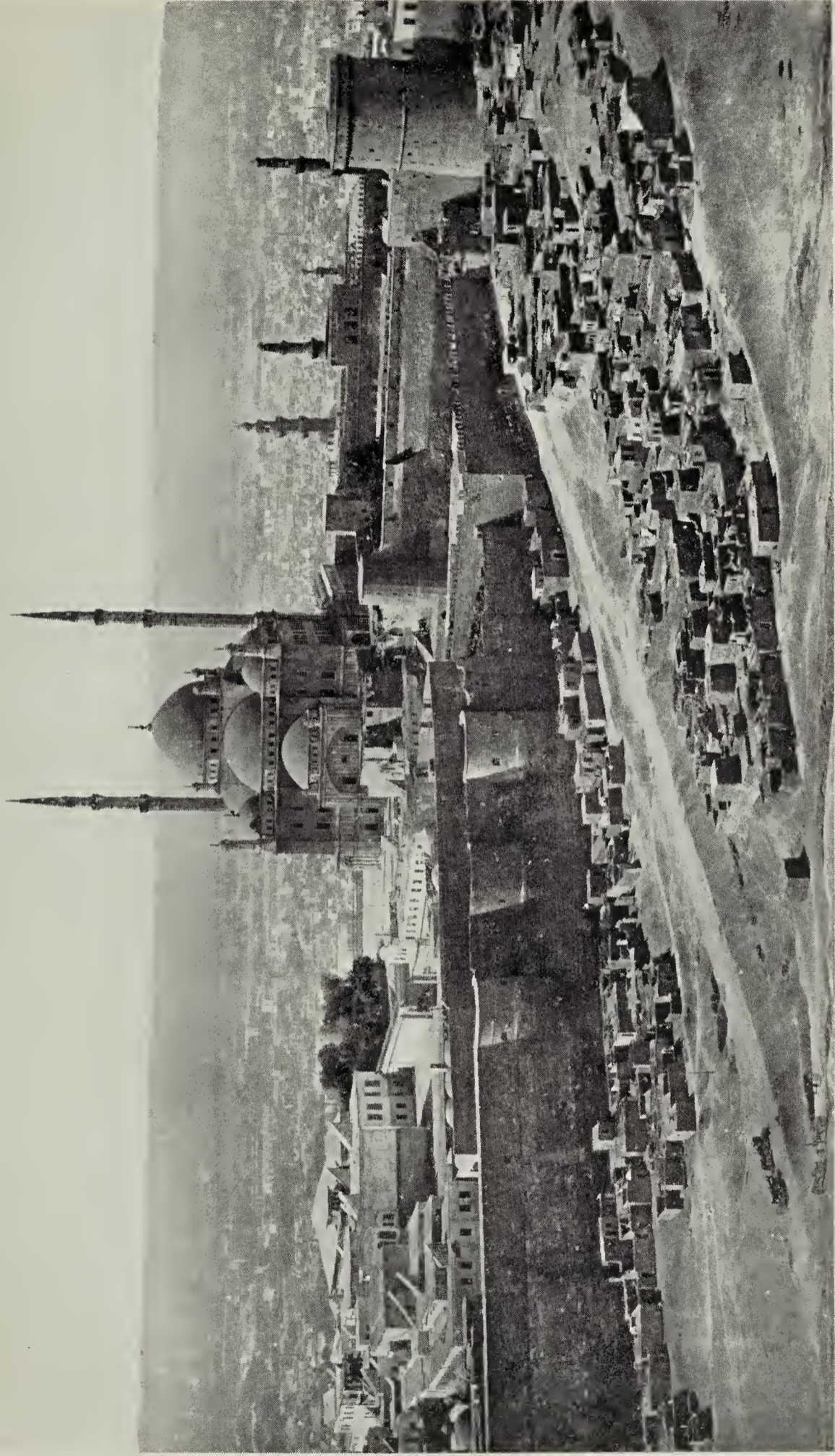
Taking my stand on the historicity of the Exodus, I am just as clear that there was only one route possible for such a mass of people, that it was settled absolutely by the water, and that, contrary to the common conception, it was along a well-known Route of Antiquity, an old road from Egypt to Edom, Arabia and Mesopotamia. The Route fits the documents as the key fits its own lock.

Many of the difficulties and controversies stand or fall with the numbers of the Israelites. We claim to throw a new light on this problem. The two and a half or three million estimate must give place to much more reasonable figures, and with this change come other interesting results.

That the Route was not simply a passing track in the wilderness, either before or after the Exodus, can be gathered from some of the antiquities picked up along the line,

¹ See "Jordan Valley and Petra," Vol. II, p. 12, for a storm in Edom.

which are only a foretaste of what we may hope to see in coming years. The turquoise mines at Maghareh, a new Semitic ritual at Serabit and a new language in Semitic script used by the Syrian miners—all before the Exodus. Then in later times one of the most famous Bible manuscripts (the Sinaitic), picked up in the old monastery at Sinai. Then the wonderful picture of ancient life at Petra, with its *High Places* dating from pre-Exodus times, the best and only ones in existence; the Moabite Stone of Dibon and the Mosaic Map at Madeba are enough to kindle the expectation and imagination of all who love the Bible. These are facts that affect both Christian and Jew. No one has felt more keenly than the latter the ruthless way in which self-appointed critics have attempted to tear away the heart of Hebrew history as it throbs with memories of the bondage and the desert back to the Promised Land. All believers in the mission of the Hebrew people—that standing miracle of human history—have a living interest in this problem, and it is for these I write. Let us, then, in imagination transport ourselves to the mysterious country of the Nile, and take a glance backward through the gate of chronology into the morning of human history, and trace in outline the connection between Egypt and Sinai before we start on our actual journey.



Cairo, the modern Mistress of the Nile, with the famous Mosque of Muhammad Ali and the Citadel in the foreground

CHAPTER II

EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY BEFORE AND AFTER THE EXODUS

THE average traveller from the United States or the western parts of Europe, whenever he is about to leave home to journey in the East, carries with him a number of loosely defined conceptions according to which the most important questions of the universe are in some way connected with automobiles, aeroplanes and political parties, but when once he has passed the Straits of Gibraltar and touches any of the shores of the Mediterranean Sea he is forced to abandon his complacent disregard of the remote past, and acknowledge that both he and his modern problems are but a small and insignificant portion of the long ages of human history. Ben Jonson remarked years ago that the end of all travel was to see the shores of this wonderful inland sea. When the traveller sets foot in Egypt he has left behind him almost everything this side the Christian Era, and is face to face with customs and types of men who form unbroken links between the present hour and all the millenniums of human history. Ancient kings and peoples speak to him in the carving of a finger-ring, the pattern of a bracelet, the actual stones and scarabs of a necklace. A thousand inscriptions on obelisk, temple gate, temple walls, tombs, sphinx and pyramids which line the banks of Father Nile, call the careless parvenu to stop and think. Here the problems of life are not the automobile and aeroplane, but the great problems of time as it

NOTE.—Those who wish to follow out the archæological phases of the Problem of the Exodus may read Chapters VII, XIV and XVII in connection with this.

flows, like the waters of the Nile, through all human history. Hence in Egypt every problem of the past is in some way related to chronology.

About the sixth century A. D., when the Christian Era was invented, we cross the frontier which divides the modern from the ancient world. Seated upon the oldest Christian ruins in Egypt, the Monastery at Bawit, we look back and down a long and unbroken vista of new discoveries stretching through more than twenty-five centuries. Then the great stream divides. The Egyptian arm extends unbroken through another 2000 years, while the larger Babylonian arm swings off eastward to a still more remote past. Within this great stream of Time lie at least 7000 years of human history, and it has been the dream and effort of scholars in all ages to erect time-marks along its banks by means of which they would slowly work their way back to the remotest sources of human life and activity. The Greeks gave us the name "chronology" for the science of time, but both the Egyptians and the Babylonians worked at the problem for thousands of years before the Greek people was born.

Every chronological system proposed requires some fixed event or point in time from which all other dates may be reckoned. We are all more or less familiar with the interesting history of our Christian Era which begins with the birth of Christ, and of our custom of dating all history A. D. and B. C., but few recall the fact that this system was not invented until the sixth century, by one Dionysius Exiguus, and was several hundred years coming into general use. Fewer still are aware of the fact that perhaps a score of other eras have been invented and made use of and abandoned, most of which lie between the foundation of Rome, A. U. C. 753 B. C., and the Muhammadan era dating from the Hegira, or flight from Mecca to Medina, A. D. 622. China, India, Chaldea, Tyre, Antioch and Constantinople all had their eras; so had Alexander,

Cæsar, Augustus and the Seleucidæ. These are all now located in history and reduced to the common era, the era of Christ, the era of the Incarnation, when heaven touched the earth in the person of the Son of God.

The Jews have made in comparatively modern times an era of their own in which they have erroneously fixed the foundation of the world as 5672 years ago. The Old Testament contains a great many chronological notices, but, as a whole, no chronological system. An attempt seems to have been made at one time to use the Exodus as a starting-point. The notices in Gen. 15: 13, Ex. 12: 40 and 1 Kings 6: 1 seem to belong to calculations connected with such an era.

If ever human research can fix the date of man's appearance upon this planet, then we shall have solved one of the most fascinating problems of the intellectual life of man. The fixing of the date of the Exodus is a much more simple problem because, as we shall see later, it lies more than half-way down the stream of human history.

Looking back into the most ancient world we are sure of several great facts. There were two primal civilizations. As early as 4000 B. C. there existed a high state of civilization in both Babylonia and Egypt. Then for 2000 years each of these great civilizations marched upon its own solitary way without meeting the other. There is no hint of any collision between them as late as 2500 B. C., nor does either of them betray the slightest knowledge of the other's existence. As early as 3750 B. C., in far away Babylonia, we see Naram-Sin crossing the mountains of the East to conquer Elam and to invade the Sinaitic Peninsula, then called the Land of Magan. But this event is unheard of and unrecorded in the annals of Egypt, where her most ancient kings were standing round the shrine of Nekhen, the cradle of the Egyptian monarchy. Not until the period of the Kassite kings (about 2000 B. C.) did Babylon and Assyria establish direct relations with Egypt, and from

that time forward the influence they exerted upon one another was continuous and unbroken.

Now, chronology was not by any means an unknown science among the Babylonians. The great lack, however, is the absence of any known fixed starting-point. Yet we do not despair of some day finding some fixed date and some important cross-reference to Egyptian or Biblical history. "In the later periods of Babylonian history tablets were dated¹ in the year of the king who was reigning at the time the documents were drawn up, but this simple system had not been adopted at the early date period. In the place of this we find that each year was cited by the event of the greatest importance which occurred in that year. This event might be the cutting of a canal, when the year in which this took place might be referred to as 'the year in which the canal named Aikhegal-lu was cut'; or it might be the building of a temple, as in the date formula, 'the year in which the great temple of the Moon-god was built'; or it might be the conquest of a city, such as 'the year in which the city of Kish was destroyed.' Now it will be obvious that this system had many disadvantages. An event might be of importance for one city, while it might never have been heard of in another district. Thus it sometimes happened that the same event was not adopted throughout the whole country for designating a particular year, and the result was that different systems of dating were employed in different parts of Babylonia. Moreover, when a particular system had been in use for a considerable time it required a very good memory to retain the order and period of the various events referred to in the date-formulæ, so as to fix in a moment the date of a document by its mention of one of them. In order to assist themselves in their task of fixing dates in this manner the scribes of the I Dynasty of Babylon drew up lists of the titles of the years, arranged in

¹ "E. and W. A.," p. 241.



The Great South Arch at Karnak. One of the great stone books of the Nile

chronological order under the reigns of the kings to which they referred. Some of these lists have been recovered, and they are of the greatest assistance in fixing the chronology while at the same time they furnish us with considerable information concerning the history of the period of which we should otherwise have been in ignorance."

This Babylonian system reminds us of the system we sometimes employ when we refer to the period "before the war" in the United States, or "before the massacre" in Syria (1860), "before the Reformation" in Europe, or "before the days of Magna Charta" in England. If these events were not clearly fixed by our present system of chronology they would soon become very shadowy and indefinite.

It is from Egypt, however, that we obtain the most fascinating facts concerning the chronology of the ancient world. The written records of Egyptian civilization go back fully 4000 years B. C. They consist of the monuments which have been carefully studied now for a hundred years, the history of Manetho, a priest in the days of Ptolemy I (305-285 B. C.), who wrote a history in the Greek language, and the Turin Papyrus of Kings. These stone books of Father Nile include lists of kings inscribed on temples and tombs at Abydos, Karnak and Sakkara, which date, fortunately for our purpose, from the XVIII and XIX Dynasties, and give the names of seventy-six, sixty-one, and forty-seven kings respectively. Private tombs give supplementary and, in many cases, more accurate dates and facts. The public monuments are not always above suspicion. On one of the gates at Deir el-Bahari the jealous Thotmes III chiselled out Hatshepsut's name in the royal cartouches and inserted his own in its place, but he forgot to alter the gender of the pronouns in the accompanying inscription, which therefore reads: "King Thotmes III, she made the monument to her father." Fine examples of this lack of truthfulness

ness are found in all ages, as evidenced by inscriptions in Jerusalem.

If poor old Manetho should rise from his unknown grave he could open libel cases in every civilized country of the earth and take advantage of the copyright laws of all ages. He has been praised, abused, made fun of, and somehow cannot be gotten rid of. He is like the siege of Troy. On the whole, the most recent discoveries make Manetho a much more trustworthy witness than his hostile critics have hitherto been willing to reckon him, and it is not at all impossible that some day he will rise, like the city of Troy, and give the lie to generations of parvenus who have presumed to question his statements. Old Manetho divided the long succession of Pharaohs into thirty royal houses or dynasties, and these have been so long employed in modern study of Egyptian history that it is now impossible to dispense with them. Moreover, his work has perished and naught but an epitome of it exists as preserved by the Latin writer Julius Africanus and Eusebius, with some extracts in Josephus.

The Turin Papyrus of Kings has also been a subject of controversy. It is in a pretty dilapidated condition. Originating from the Ramesside period, it probably enumerated when complete all the kings from the I to the Hyksos Dynasty.

The attempt to fix the chronological data in these written documents and to bring them into chronological order is a task that extended over the whole of the 19th century. The problem is to get at the date of the first king of the I Dynasty. Every one has some interest in the question whether Menes founded the kingdom of Egypt five thousand years before Herodotus, or at only half that distance of time. We know perfectly well that the Persians conquered Egypt in 525 B. C. and put an end to the XXII Dynasty. There were then two processes of working backward, one is by what has been called "dead reckoning,"

and the other by astronomical calculations based upon the Egyptian calendar, which is now fairly well known.¹

The process of "dead reckoning" is that of simply adding the known or supposed length of all the kings' reigns, and thus reaching the initial date of each dynasty in the series. This process of "dead reckoning" along the Nile seems to have been attended with as many dangers as the same process is usually attended with over a stormy sea, under a sunless sky and along a rocky coast. The dates assigned by various scholars differ more than 2000 years, Borch making it as remote as 5702 B. C., and Toffteen as late as 3285 B. C.,² when the first Pharaoh mounted the throne.

Astronomical calculations are intricate mathematical deductions based upon the well-known laws and facts of astronomy which are mentioned in the documents of ancient Egyptian history. It is of interest to note that when the dwellers in the Nile valley failed to find on the earth any changeless starting-point for their chronological system, like the Christians of the sixth century, they lifted their eyes to the heavens and found the changeless among the changeable.

The Christians chose the one moment and the day when the heavens touched the earth in the birth of the person of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. The Egyptians, realizing the vagueness of changing heat and growth, and seeking some connection between the sun and the stars, "adopted the first appearance of a star in the glow of sunrise," and chose for their star of observation the brightest

¹ The civilization of the Delta discovered the year of 365 days in the 43d century B. C. and gave us the earliest fixed date in the history of the world, 4241 B. C. "B. A. E.," p. 35.

² Borch.....B. C. 5702	Lepsius.....B. C. 3892
Unger.....B. C. 5613	Bunsen.....B. C. 3623
Brugsch.....B. C. 4455	Breasted.....B. C. 3400
Lauth.....B. C. 4157	Toffteen.....B. C. 3285
(Petrie, 5510. Myers, 4500-3700.)	

of all the stars, which they called Sothis, which is none other than our Sirius or the Dog Star. And this rising of Sirius in the dawn just before the sun became the beginning of the Egyptian New Year.

Censorius again says: "The beginnings of these years are always reached from the first day of that month which is called by the Egyptians Thoth, which happened this year (239 A. D.) upon the 7th of the Kalends of July (June 25th); for a hundred years ago from the present year (*i. e.*, 139 A. D.) the same fell upon the Kalends of August (July 21st), on which day Canicula (Sirius) regularly rises in Egypt."¹ This is the primal fixed date in Egyptian chronology from which flow some interesting conclusions.

Like all other ancient peoples, they made use of the moon to mark the months, but where we put an extra day in the calendar "the Egyptians ignored the leap year and counted only 365 days." Then, noting that the months were always slipping farther behind the seasons, the ripening fruit and the harvests, these facts were recorded until other generations noted that again the months were catching up until they coincided with the records of a thousand years before. The authority for this is Censorius, writing in 239 A. D. that "the Egyptian civil year has only 365 days, without any intercalary day, whence the quadrennium so adjusts itself that in the 1461st year the revolution is completed."²

Thus the Egyptian New Year's day of the months—1st of Thoth—coincided in 139 A. D. with the fixed astronomical feature of the rising of Sirius in the dawn just before the sun, which was July 21st. Now from this astronomical occurrence tables can be worked out for any day of the year of our Christian era. For example, the 1st of Thoth corresponded with our 23d of November in 1099 A. D., 362 B. C. 1822, 3282 and 4742 B. C., where

¹ "P. R. S.," p. 165.

² *Ibid.*, p. 164.

the period of revolution between these dates is the 1461 years above referred to.

The next step has been to collect the astronomical data from the Egyptian documents and monuments, and the first important one is a note on the back of the medical Ebers papyrus, where it is stated that Sirius rose on the 9th of Epiphi in the 9th year of Amenhotep. Referring those who wish to follow out the calculations to Petrie's "Researches in Sinai" (p. 166), I need to observe only the most important fact that this confirms beyond a peradventure the important date of 1580 B. C. as the beginning of the XVIII Dynasty, which is almost the oldest date in Egyptian history which is universally accepted by scholars. Its peculiar importance to us lies in the fact that it falls about one hundred years before the date of the Exodus, and therefore brings that event well within the limits of accepted and accurate chronology. But more of this later.

CHAPTER III

THE DISTRICT OF SINAI

THE Exodus was *out of* Egypt and into Sinai, so that, fascinating as it would be to remain in the Land of the Nile, our path lies over the border. Sinai in its largest sense is that V-shaped section of land between what we now designate as the continents of Africa and Asia. Its base, resting upon the Mediterranean Sea, may be given as a line running due east from Port Said for a distance of 175 miles and almost touching the southern end of the Dead Sea. Its two sides then would measure 275 miles, and stretch southward to this apex, splitting the Red Sea into the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Akaba. The area of this region would then roughly be about 24,000 square miles. Sinai Peninsula proper, as we shall see later, includes only about 10,000 square miles.

Curiously enough this district has at times belonged to Asia and at other times to Africa. Its northern section along the sea is the ancient Sirbonian Bog, an almost impassable morass of mud and quicksand. The central section is an elevated desert plateau seared by dry ravines, while in the apex of the southern section is a sublime cluster of mountain peaks which are known as Sinai.

Now this whole V-shaped section has at times been a *barrier* between the civilization of the Nile and the Euphrates, but much more often a *bridge* over which races, languages, civilization, envoys, nomads and armies have passed and repassed between the nations of antiquity. Through this desolate region ran east and west some of the great roads which connected these nations, the remains of which may some day be dug from beneath the shifting

sands. In modern times this region again comes into prominence by the cutting of the Suez Canal, this time from north to south, as a highway from ocean to ocean. But its greatest and imperishable fame rests upon the Exodus, when the Children of Israel came out of Egyptian bondage into their supreme destiny as a nation, called of God to be the bearers of saving truth to the whole human race.

Fascinating chapters and volumes have recently been written throwing light upon the origin and relations of the great nations of antiquity. The stories of their ways and their struggles for supremacy and their passing away, such as are embodied in the three great volumes of Maspero, which have for their titles the "Dawn of Civilization," "The Struggle of the Nations," and "The Passing Away of the Nations," most of which began and was in progress about the time of the period we are considering.

Looking backward, the whole consensus of accepted research assigns a great place to the Semitic or Arabic race. Many lines of evidence point to Arabia as the home of the Semites, and Arabia in human history has been like the mysterious sources of the Nile, the human fountain from which wave after wave of humanity has issued, changing the face of the world. The first emigration of Semites from Arabia into Egypt seems to have taken place in Neolithic times, and to have entered the country by this bridge-like district of Sinai. It left its impress at Heliopolis in the early religious cultus, and also stamped its essential Semitic character unmistakably upon the language of the African people in Egypt.¹

The second wave of Semites moved from Arabia in the centuries following 3000 B. C. This wave took into Babylonia the Dynasty of Sargon, because there are many evidences now of Semitic influences in the Euphrates Valley which synchronize with the founding of the Phœnician cities on the coast of the Mediterranean.

¹ "Bible World," January, 1910.

The third wave of the Semites from Northern Arabia brought the first or Hammurabi Dynasty into Babylonia. The theory that this dynasty was not purely Babylonian was started years ago, and based upon a study of the forms of the names which were borne by the kings and their courtiers. It proved to be a strong dynasty. The new blood and energy infused into the already existing civilization of Babylonia found its greatest representative in the famous Hammurabi, who reigned for a period of forty-three years. Much discussion has taken place concerning Hammurabi's date, but a recently discovered royal chronological tablet makes it not earlier than 2100 and possibly as late as 1900 B. C. His remarkable civil code of 280 laws, recently discovered in the ruins of Susa, ranks among the most remarkable finds of human history. This code anticipates by almost a thousand years many of the beliefs which underlie the Old Testament laws. If, as now seems probable, the Semitic origin of the Hammurabi Dynasty is established, this code in a wholly unexpected fashion confirms the Biblical view which assumes that the Semitic race were, in God's providence, the depository of the earliest revelations and laws centuries before their codification by Moses at Sinai for the distinctly Hebrew people. A careful study of Hammurabi's code in comparison with the Mosaic code suggests the relation of the mediæval Christian Church with that of the Reformation. The question of the actual contact and relation of these two codes will be dealt with later on in connection with the documents bearing upon the Exodus.

The fourth wave of Semites issuing from Arabia carried the Arameans into Syria and Mesopotamia, and their kindred tribes, the Hebrews, Ammonites, Moabites and Edomites, into Palestine some time prior to 1500 B. C. The date bearing upon the identification of the Khabiri or Habiri of the monuments with the Hebrews is a question too intricate and involved for such a volume as this aims to be,

but it may be remarked that the Jewish or Hebrew race, examined from the Biblical side, shows clearly that it was mixed in its origin and subjected to a great variety of outside influences. It was clearly Arab or Bedawin at first under Mesopotamian influences. It then lived for a period among the Syrians, and here it seems to have been when mentioned by the monuments. It was then drilled and disciplined by the Egyptians and in the Exodus, and later absorbed various kindred peoples of the desert and of Palestine. In all probability this remote ancient history and the origin of peoples was very similar to what has taken place in the centuries of which we have most complete records. At 5000 B. C. there were at least five different races living contemporaneously in Egypt. The same was true at the time of the Exodus, in the time of Christ, and in the present day. The Arabs, Turks, Armenians, Greeks and Europeans are simply a different combination from what has perhaps been true in all ages. The important point for us to bear in mind is the existence and great influence of the Semitic blood which existed and which has so marvelously survived, in God's providence, the vicissitudes of all the ages in the Hebrew people of to-day.

The fifth and last wave of the Semites from Arabia began to move forth in the centuries just before the Christian era and culminated in the great conquests of Elam. But this lies outside the sphere of our present investigation because it came some centuries after the Exodus. Thus, Sinai, while belonging to Egypt, has always been Semitic; racially, Sinai has been the bridge before any political contact has been established.

It has often been remarked that Syria and Palestine lay between the two great civilizations on the Nile and the Euphrates, and must have been profoundly influenced by both. What is true in general concerning Syria and Palestine is also true in a peculiar way concerning the wider district of Sinai. Generally speaking, Babylonian civili-

zation was older than Egyptian, but investigators are now coming to recognize a still more ancient stratum than the Babylonian, which they have named Sumerian; and it is also recognized that the Sinai district, with its most ancient Semitic people, was in some way the bridge between Babylonian and contemporaneous Egyptian life, and this period seems to coincide with the existence of the Semitic kings in Babylonia and the Hyksos, or Bedawin, or Arab rulers in Egypt. For a period of almost two thousand years these civilizations marched, as it were, each upon its solitary way without meeting the other. Eventually the two roads converged and their point of meeting was Petra and Sinai.

Among the really fascinating discoveries and one which bears in a marvelous way upon the conditions of the ancient world in Syria immediately before the Exodus, was the discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, which have opened a new chapter in the history of the human race, because they contain information previously undreamt of and which Egyptologists had never dared to hope would be recovered. Stranger than the information itself, however, is the fact that all the outside or foreign correspondence of the Egyptians was at that time carried on in the cuneiform or Babylonian language, which diplomatically in those days seems to have been like the French of the present day, used by nations who possessed an entirely different mother tongue. Politically, as has already been remarked, the Sinai region was for centuries the barrier between the civilization of the Euphrates and the Nile Valley. When it became the bridge it assumed a new importance, and from that time forward was coveted and possessed by either one or the other of these great civilizations.

Twenty years ago the common statement concerning the district could have been summed up in the following words: for over four thousand years the Egyptians had more or

less dominated Sinai, but the degradation of their kings under the later Ramessides and subsequent to the Exodus let this side of their territory finally slip from their power, but the most recent discoveries in Babylonia have put an entirely different face upon this problem. From a stele found recently at Susa, accounts of which were published in 1907 only, is thrown a new and strange light upon the district. According to this stele it was called the land of Magan, and this new text records the fact that Naram-Sin as early as 3750 B. C., or about the time of the third Egyptian Dynasty, made an expedition in which he defeated Manium, the lord of that region. A reference to such an expedition had been noted years ago on a clay tablet from Ashur-bani-pal's library at Nineveh, but contained no names. This more recent discovery gives the name of the conquered ruler of Sinai and other details of the campaign. Naram-Sin also records the fact that he cut blocks of stone in the mountains there and transported them to his own city of Agade. This stone turns out to be the famous green diorite of Sinai. From these blocks were cut statues of himself, and the inscription referred to was found upon the base of one of these statues. Later kings made use of the same hard diorite from the Sinaitic Peninsula, and from the inscriptions preserved upon them have been ascertained the names of the buildings in which they were originally placed. Later kings of that same dynasty, notably Tjeser and Snefru, the last king of the dynasty, also invaded Sinai; and this whole series of inscriptions gives no hint of any collision between Babylonians and Egyptians at that time, nor does either of them betray the slightest knowledge of one another's existence.

From Egyptian monuments it is now well known that Semerkha, of the I Dynasty, entered Sinai and inscribed his name upon the rocks, but the regular annexation, so to speak, of Sinai to Egypt took place under the Memphites

of the III Dynasty. What this means chronologically can be grasped when we realize that this occupation of Sinai from both directions took place before the building of the pyramids by the three great kings of the IV Dynasty, Khufu, Khafra, and Menhaura, at Ghizeh near Cairo, and a thousand years before the birth of Abraham and more than 1500 years before the Exodus. Details of the Egyptian occupation, as seen in the religious character of Horeb and the turquoise mines at Maghareh, will be dealt with in later chapters. The point to be emphasized here and borne in mind is the fact that this "wilderness" or "desert" of Sinai was better known to the Babylonians and the Egyptians three thousand years before Christ than it has been to the Christian world during the last thousand years. Hence it need not be wondered at that the exploration and investigations of the last ten years have treated the whole archæological world to a series of most delightful surprises.

SINAI PROPER GEOGRAPHICALLY

Synchronizing with the invention and development of the automobile, a number of archæological investigators have been devoting much time and effort to the careful study of the great roads of antiquity, and no modern dictionary of Biblical or archæological facts is now complete without articles on this important subject. There is little doubt concerning the fact that these ancient nations communicated with each other in peace and war almost wholly by land. References to these great roads of antiquity have been collected from all ancient literature, and a map of the ancient East, after tracing the well-known ancient and modern route from the Delta to a point near Ismailieh, gives three possible ancient roads across the Sinai district; the most northern one passes northeast within fifty or a hundred miles of the coast straight to the ancient Beersheba; the second, almost due

east to a location named Aboda, where it forks, the north-east branch proceeding to Beersheba and to the southeast of Elath; the third branch from Ismailieh swings southeast and across the desert to Elath—this corresponds to the modern pilgrimage route from Suez to Akaba, which some have recently suggested or supposed to have been the route of the Children of Israel. But like many other sections in the East, the apparently short and direct route has not been followed except by the swiftest dromedaries or couriers. This can be clearly illustrated by the postal routes of Egypt or of the Turkish Empire. For example, there has been for many years a dromedary post between Damascus and Bagdad to which the lonely rider, on his fast dromedary and carrying the minimum amount of provisions and water, makes straight across the desert and in nine days reaches his destination; but the ordinary route for travellers and merchants of all kinds is the road which swings northward and completely around the northern end of the Syrian Desert through Hums, Hama, Aleppo, striking the Euphrates at Deir Bekr, and following that stream with its life and verdure for more than three times the nine days' journey of the swift dromedary. Exactly the same thing was true in ancient times in Sinai; instead of the apparently short route across the pathless and waterless desert, the real route for travellers and merchants, as also the Children of Israel, led southeast along the seashore and up among the mountain peaks, and then northeast to Elath, where roads again divided, leading through Petra to Syria and southward to the Arabian Peninsula.

This Peninsula of Sinai, within which lies the first two sections of the Route, is the triangular region between the two arms of the northern end of the Red Sea. A line drawn from Suez to Akaba, a distance of 150 miles through the desert, forms the northern side of the triangle. The other two sides are bounded by the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Akaba. The Gulf of Suez, the longer arm, sweep-

ing toward the southeast for a distance of about 200 miles, lies in the trough-like depression which separates Africa from Asia, and, together with the Suez Canal, forms one of the greatest waterways of the earth. The other arm, the Gulf of Akaba, extends north by ~~west~~ ^{east} for 140 miles, being a continuation of the most remarkable rift upon our planet, that of the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley.¹ The area of this triangle, the peninsula proper, is little less than 10,000 square miles. It is one vast desert, relieved by a few oases along the sea-coast and deep among the network of rocky valleys. In the north and along both sea-coasts are vast stretches of sand, which forever shift before the winds from land and sea. Further onward are stony plateaus and great wastes of sand glistening with salt. But just south of the center of the peninsula, like a great lighthouse between two continents, rises the huge granite range of Sinai to a height of over 8500 feet. Geologically this mass of primeval gneiss and granite, or "in more precise terminology, of colorless quartz, flesh-colored felspar, green hornblende and black mica," is one of the most impressive sights of our earth. Since the days of creation these crystalline masses have undergone no geological change, but have reared their summits above the ocean from the beginnings of time unaffected by the transitions that have so completely changed the face of our planet elsewhere. Only at their base do these venerable mountains show any trace of alteration, where the waves and the winds of the ages have crunched and ground their fadeless elements into the colored sands which filled the geological gulfs and bays of the Jordan rift, and made possible the beauties of Petra and all that region. Rising majestically from their encircling setting of desert and sea the whole mass is cleft and rifted and shattered into a fascinating tangle of sublime valleys, towering cliffs, awful precipices and magnificent peaks, which roll like billows far up into

¹ See "Jordan Valley and Petra," Vol. I, p. 137.



Our Sinai Cameleers: Sheikh Hammadi is the third man standing
from the right, wearing a white turban
When the day was over—around the camp-fire

the crystalline blue of the heavens. Long before the days of the Exodus this range was known as Horeb, or the mountain of God, and into this maze of divine handiwork the Children of Israel were led forty days or more after they quitted the bondage of Egypt on the banks of the Nile. Here among these sublime valleys and majestic granite peaks they remained eleven months while Moses, under God's own guidance, transformed the mass of Hebrew slaves into Israel, the Chosen People, the miracle of human history.¹

Of course, these mountain peaks and valleys have been incrustated with legends and shrines, but somewhere here within a little circle of thirty miles took place many of the most important transactions of human history in closest contact with God. The announcement of the Covenant, the manifestation of God's presence, the giving of the Ten Commandments and the setting up of the Tabernacle are events that loom large in the history and destiny of the race. Here among the indescribable beauties and grandeur of these granite mountains Moses, guided by God, evolved a civil code and established a complete form of religious worship. There are no fossils in the rocks of Sinai, interesting though these wornout garments of other living creatures in other ages may be. It is no accident that the promulgation of the Divine Law, the fundamental principles of all the best moral and legal systems of the world, is linked with the oldest geological formation of our planet. There is a magnificent correspondence between the granite cliffs of Sinai and the unchangeable walls of moral truths.

The peninsula of Sinai is a desert in which its dwindling inhabitants wander in search of water and food. All told, the Bedawin do not number more than 6000 souls. They are divided into four main tribes, and are headed, not ruled over, by sheikhs, who represent their followers before the

¹ Exodus 19: 40.

Government and who act as judges and referees in the never-ending disputes. These Bedawin dwell in miserable tents which are always pitched in lonely valleys and away from the routes of passers-by. When travellers enter the peninsula the news spreads by means as mysterious as the wireless, and hungry fellows with their lean camels hasten from every tribe and wrangle for days and weeks over the right and privilege to share in the transport. Our group of sixteen (Fig. 4) was led by Sheikh Hammadi, the third man from the end on the right, dressed in white. He was wide awake and got about as much work and as good service out of such raw material as any one could have expected. Their habits of life, their never-ending conversation, their preparation for the night within the circle of their camel harness around a little fire (Fig. 5) was a fascinating study.

The peninsula has always been thinly populated because scantily supplied with water and means of subsistence. The present population would average only one person to every two square miles,¹ and live largely upon their trade with Egypt and the escort of Greek pilgrims to Sinai. Politically, they now belong to Egypt. They are all tent dwellers, even though they build stone huts at certain of the oases where they gather for a month at the time of the date harvest. It is not too much to say that the only permanent habitations in the peninsula are the fortress monastery at Sinai and its dependency at Tor, on the Red Sea, and these are occupied by Ionian Greek monks.

¹ Switzerland, 200 to the square mile; New Jersey, 250; Alabama, 10.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE OCEAN TO SUEZ

REFERENCE has already been made to the fact that while the story of this volume is woven round a particular journey, the contents of that story are the garnered results of many journeys in Bible Lands and many years' contact with its people and problems.

The first event of this particular trip¹ was one that thrilled the world. Dr. Goucher and Mr. Taylor left New York on January 22, 1909, in the White Star "Republic." Early the next morning in a dense fog off the island of Nantucket the "Republic" was struck amidships by the Italian liner "Florida." Both ships were shattered to the sinking point. The appalling cry for help was flashed out into the surrounding space encircling the earth, and the civilized world waited breathless while a dozen great ships went pounding through the dense fog following like sleuth hounds the "C. Q. D." (Come! Quick! Danger!) of tireless "Jack" Binns, who kept up that ceaseless exchange of wireless messages through twelve perilous hours until more than 1500 souls were rescued from the "Republic" and the "Florida," and were safe on board the "Baltic," returning to New York. The peril

¹ As far as the author was concerned it meant 1900 miles:

Beirut to Egypt.....	277	Camels, 109 hours to Sinai and Akaba.
Rail in Egypt.....	288	
Camels.....	350	Horses, 162 hours from Akaba to Jerusalem and Safed.
Horses.....	650	
Rail in Syria.....	235	
Carriage and boat.....	<u>100</u>	

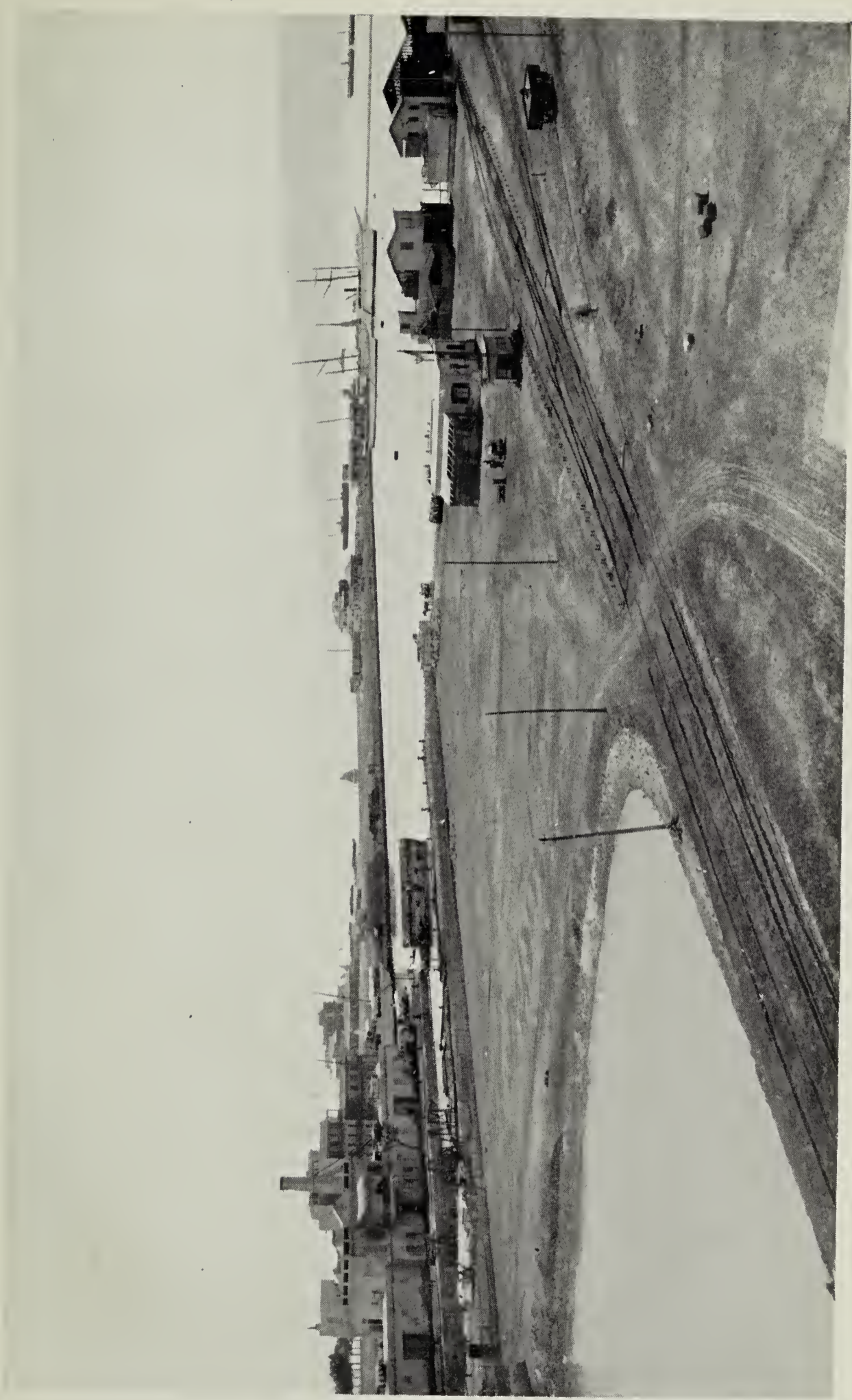
1900

February 2d to April 28th, 1909.

was great, the rescue was fine, but Dr. Goucher and Mr. Taylor were not among those who decided to postpone their trip on account of that accident. We heard the news of the shipwreck in Beirut on Tuesday, and just two days later came a cablegram from Dr. Goucher, saying that he would meet me in Cairo on the Tuesday agreed upon, February 11th. They slept one night in the United States, scraped together a partial outfit of clothing and photographic material and sailed the next day for England. By taking the fast Indian mail train from London across the Continent to Brindisi they succeeded in reaching Cairo on the original date agreed upon, despite the thrilling experience of the "Republic."

But that did not end our connection with the ill-fated steamer. After the rescue the "Republic" was towed toward Martha's Vineyard, but sank a few miles from the land, and with her went down the most important part of our outfit, two Whitman saddles, the whole photographic supply of instruments, plates and films (Mr. Taylor saving only the best lenses in his pockets), rifles, shot-guns and all the ammunition, together with clothing and a hundred little necessaries for such a trip. Dr. Goucher and Mr. Taylor were able to replace only a small part of these as they passed through London and across the Continent. After reaching Cairo we searched in vain for rifles and cartridges, and all through the trip mourned for the Winchester which are still resting beneath the blue waves of the Atlantic.

A day went in Cairo in interviews with Naoum Beg Shucair, of the Intelligence Department of the Soudan. He had journeyed extensively in the Sinai Peninsula and was well acquainted with the Bedawin sheikhs and the customs of the country. He explained very carefully certain of the routes, the places where we would certainly find water, and directed our attention to some of the more important problems of the region. He also introduced



General View of Suez—Largely made ground among the shallows of the sea

us to the Bishop of Sinai and gave us letters to the Abbot of the Monastery of St. Katharine. Other results of this day's interviews were a permit from the War Department and letters to Sheikh Musa Bu Nasir, the highest sheikh of all the Bedawin tribes of the Peninsula.

It was a great surprise to us all to find out how successfully the present Egyptian Government has prohibited the importation of modern rifles and ammunition. We made use of every friend we possessed in the city and could get no trace of a rifle of any kind that could be bought or borrowed, except a cumbrous heavy rifle which some traveller had used for elephant hunting in Central Africa. We did purchase another American repeating shot-gun and an abundant supply of cartridges for the same.

After another day at the Pyramids, where we viewed the extensive excavations and secured some fine photographs of the Pyramids and their desert surroundings, we returned to the Boulac Museum, where we carefully inspected a number of inscriptions which had recently been brought by the Egyptian authorities from the turquoise mines at Maghareh, where they had remained upon the face of the cliffs since the days of the I, III, V and XII Dynasties. Our dragoman, Milhem, had meanwhile completed the contract with the Bishop's agent for twenty-one camels which were to carry us and our outfit from Suez to Sinai and Akaba. The tents and our personal outfit, with a portion of the provisions, had already started across the desert between Cairo and Suez. The main part of our provisions and water were taken in at Suez itself, and the first supply of oranges and dried fruits had been sent down direct from Beirut.

The train from Cairo to Suez is a very comfortable mode of travelling and its luncheon car provided us with good provender at the noon hour. We reached Suez about 4 o'clock in the afternoon and spent another fruitless two hours in visiting every gunshop in the town, hop-

ing that we might find a second-hand rifle of some kind that would be of use to us in the desert.

When Robinson visited Suez in 1838 it was a miserable, squalid town of 1200 Muhammadans and 150 Greek Christians, who drank from a fortified well called Bir Suweis, or from the water-skins of camels who tramped back and forth across the head of this gulf to the "Springs of Moses" on the Arabian coast, then an hour's journey away. Robinson's remark about it now reads strangely: "The present arrangements for making it the point of communication between Europe and India by means of steam navigation of the Red Sea may probably give to it an impulse, but it can never become more than a mere place of passage which both the traveller and the inhabitant will hasten to leave as soon as possible." This sage remark has proved true to the letter. It was the terminus of an ancient canal. It was developed in recent times by the opening of the Fresh-water Canal (1863) when the sweet waters of the Nile again reached the town *via* Ismailia.¹ It gave its name to the great Suez Canal in 1869 and has now an extensive system of harbors and quays (Fig. 6).

Reference has already been made in the figure of a bridge to the part played by the Sinai district and the Peninsula in human history. In a still more wonderful way human history and human enterprise have attached themselves to the two narrow strips of land which we know as the Isthmus of Suez and Panama, because the Isthmus of Panama is destined to play as great a part in the future of the world as the Isthmus of Suez has in the past. France tried to cut them both. England completed Suez, and the United States will complete Panama. Many and mighty have been the migrations of the human race across this narrow neck of land between Asia and Africa, and it is not to be wondered at that the most momentous of all human migrations should be found athwart of this great meeting-

¹ Population, 1897, 17,173.

place of land and sea and human history. Barring the Panama Canal as belonging to the future, the Suez Canal at this moment is the greatest enterprise on this planet, and in the not distant future lines of international railway enterprise linking the three continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, combined with this great canal, may keep the Isthmus of Suez still in the van as the scene of the greatest human enterprise. Certainly the eyes of the nations are already upon it. We might easily connect this enterprise of the Suez Canal with the Exodus by asking the simple question as to whether the Children of Israel were obliged to cross a canal in their escape from the bondage of Egypt, but we have a much better reason than this, because the canal, between its inception and completion, furnishes a striking illustration of the vicissitudes and difficulties connected with a hundred other human enterprises which puzzle and fascinate students and archæologists along the banks of the Nile.

Far out in the sea at Port Said stands a superb statue of Ferdinand de Lesseps, a Frenchman who, in the eyes of the world, is popularly spoken of as the originator and maker of this greatest human enterprise, and, in this respect, he looms as large as some of the Pharaohs and kings of Egypt whose names are connected with the pyramids and monuments along the Nile. When, however, we begin to search the records of antiquity we find that the idea of forming this connecting link between sea and sea is of very ancient origin and its author really unknown. It is not at all impossible that a primitive progenitor of this modern water-way may have been crossed by the Israelites in their flight. Some classical writers say it was first planned by Sesostris or Raamses II, and later undertaken by Darius I. The consensus of writers referred to makes it almost certain that a water connection for small vessels between the two seas was formed as early as 600 B. C. and existed for a period of about 1400 years, after which it was allowed

to fall into disuse. Strabo (63 B. C. to 24 A. D.) says this ancient canal was supplied with water wholly from the Nile, and that the water of that river flowed through the whole length of the canal into the Red Sea. Baron R. Tott (1785) quotes the ancient historian Diodorus (A. D. 50), who speaks of the existence of certain portions of this early work and its having been abandoned in consequence of the *threatened inundation of Egypt*, which involves the fallacy of the supposed difference between the two seas, and which fallacy played such an important part eighteen centuries later. Arabic historians of the Moslem conquest of Egypt mention the fact that the canal was restored and remained open more than a century, until the time of a certain Mansour. According to another Arabic writer, Mas'udi, the famous Haroun er Rashid projected a canal, which means a reopening was made of the old canal, across the isthmus, but was persuaded that it would be dangerous to lay open the coast of Arabia to the Greek navy; therefore the project was abandoned. This idea of connecting the seas and the more or less successful attempts lingered in the memories of the human race in just the same way as the broken banks and line of the canal remain to this present hour on the isthmus. Every traveller crossing the isthmus to-day in the railway line which now stretches from Port Said to Suez will have pointed out to him in the desert stretches of banks of the ancient canal which are still five or six feet high and parallel to each other at a distance of thirty or forty yards apart. Those who know the history of the sweet water canal, which at this present day carries the water of the Nile to the town of Suez, are also acquainted with the fact that long stretches of the ancient canal were used in making this sweet water canal, which of necessity preceded the building of the great canal itself through the waterless desert.

Historically, the next great character who entertained the idea of building this maritime canal was Napoleon I.

He sent his surveyors across the isthmus, but abandoned the enterprise in consequence of their report (1798) which placed the surface of the Red Sea nearly thirty feet higher than that of the Mediterranean, reviving again the ancient fear referred to by Diodorus, that such a canal opened from the Red Sea would result in the inundation of Lower Egypt. It was not until forty-three years later (1841) that this fallacy was finally exploded and the mistake corrected by British officers sent out for that purpose.

[The overland mail route from England to India by way of Suez was opened in 1837. The Peninsular and Oriental steamer service began a few years later, and in 1857 a railway was opened in Cairo through the desert. This line was abandoned in favor of the railway which follows the canal from Suez to Ismailia and Port Said, and then ascends the Wady Tumeilah to Zakazik, whence branches divert to Cairo and Alexandria.]

It was not until fifty years later (in 1849) that Ferdinand de Lesseps, another Frenchman, began a thorough examination of the isthmus, profiting by the British correction of the great mistake in the report of the engineers in 1798. Then followed one of the romances of human history in which wisdom and folly seem to have played their parts to a wondering world. The indomitable courage and foresight of de Lesseps partially overcame the doubts and credulity of the financial and commercial world. Work on this modern canal began April 25, 1859, and a little more than ten years later, November 16, 1869, the canal was opened for navigation, having cost about £20,000,000 (\$100,000,000).

The original stockholders paid for 400,000

shares @ £20 £8,000,000

In 1867-68 another loan was contracted of . . . £4,000,000

Repayment in 50 years.

Again, in 1871, another sum was obtained of . . . £800,000

Repayable in 30 years.

The remaining £6,200,000 was furnished by the Khedive. It is between 95 and 100 miles long, traversing Lake Minzaleh, Lake Timsah and the Bitter Lakes, which prior to the cutting of the Suez end of the canal were a great waterless cavity between two seas. Its opening was marked by a series of fêtes and celebrations which rivalled the stories of the Arabian Nights. The spendthrift Khedive of Egypt made an exhibition of folly that will perhaps never be repeated in human history. It is said that he spent more than £4,200,000 in entertaining the nations of the earth who came as his guests.

Now the fact to be emphasized here, which can be paralleled in the history of so many Egyptian enterprises, is that while the idea dates back to an unknown author in very ancient times, and while it is equally certain that primitive canals were built and operated through many centuries before and since the Christian era, and while the same enterprise haunted the great brain of Napoleon I, it was carried through in our day by the brave Frenchman whose statue stands in the sea at Port Said. And it was completed by British capital and to-day is mainly owned by the British Government. Here we have the ancient Egyptian, Darius the Persian, Trajan the Roman, Haroun Rashid the Arab, Napoleon and de Lesseps backed by France, and, finally, British gold, all entering into the conception and completion of this greatest of enterprises. It has proved one of the best investments in history. In 1875 the British Government acquired 177,000 of the shares owned by the Khedive for the sum of £4,000,000, and to-day they are worth at least £20,000,000. It revolutionized the main lines of European traffic. Its opening coincided with the introduction of ocean-going screw steamers. It has restored to the Mediterranean Sea and countries a share in the commerce of the world such as they had not possessed since the Middle Ages. Its story has played a

great rôle in the hopes and visions of those who are pressing for greater enterprise at Panama.

	Number of vessels.	Tonnage.	Receipts.
1870.....	486	654,915	£206,373
1880.....	2026	4,344,519	1,629,577
1890.....	3389	9,749,129	2,680,436
1899.....	3607	13,815,992	3,652,751
1905.....	4115	18,308,498	4,554,672
1908.....	3795	19,110,831	4,390,235
1910.....	4533	23,055,380	

CHAPTER V

THE SPRINGS OF MOSES

CAPTAIN PECK of the Khedieval Steamship Company had kindly taken care of our mail and the packages belonging to our medical outfit, and assisted us in filling our water barrels with filtered Nile water. The next morning we were obliged to visit the Passport Office at Port Tewfik, and from thence we were directed to the War Office where our pass for travelling in Sinai was countersigned by Falconer Bey, who also gave us a permit for our one Winchester and two shot-guns and revolvers. At the Custom House they also refunded a French pound which I had paid as a deposit on my rifle and shot-gun when I entered the country at Port Said. While we were attending to these various matters our heavy baggage had been sent across the canal, and we with our light baggage and guns entered a boat about 1 o'clock P. M. and sailed slowly across the canal.

After fully an hour in the unwieldy Egyptian boat, and having picked our way past the various buoys and lines of piling, we came to the wooden landing-place of esh Shatt, from which a path leads up to an elaborate quarantine station, with every facility for isolation and disinfection and a good water-supply from the Nile. About eight camels and as many cameleers stood on the sandy shore ready to pounce upon our hand luggage the moment it was lifted from the boat. The camels were kneeling upon the earth about a hundred yards away, and there at once followed a running fight between our boat and the ships of the desert. Some of the swarthy Arabs were

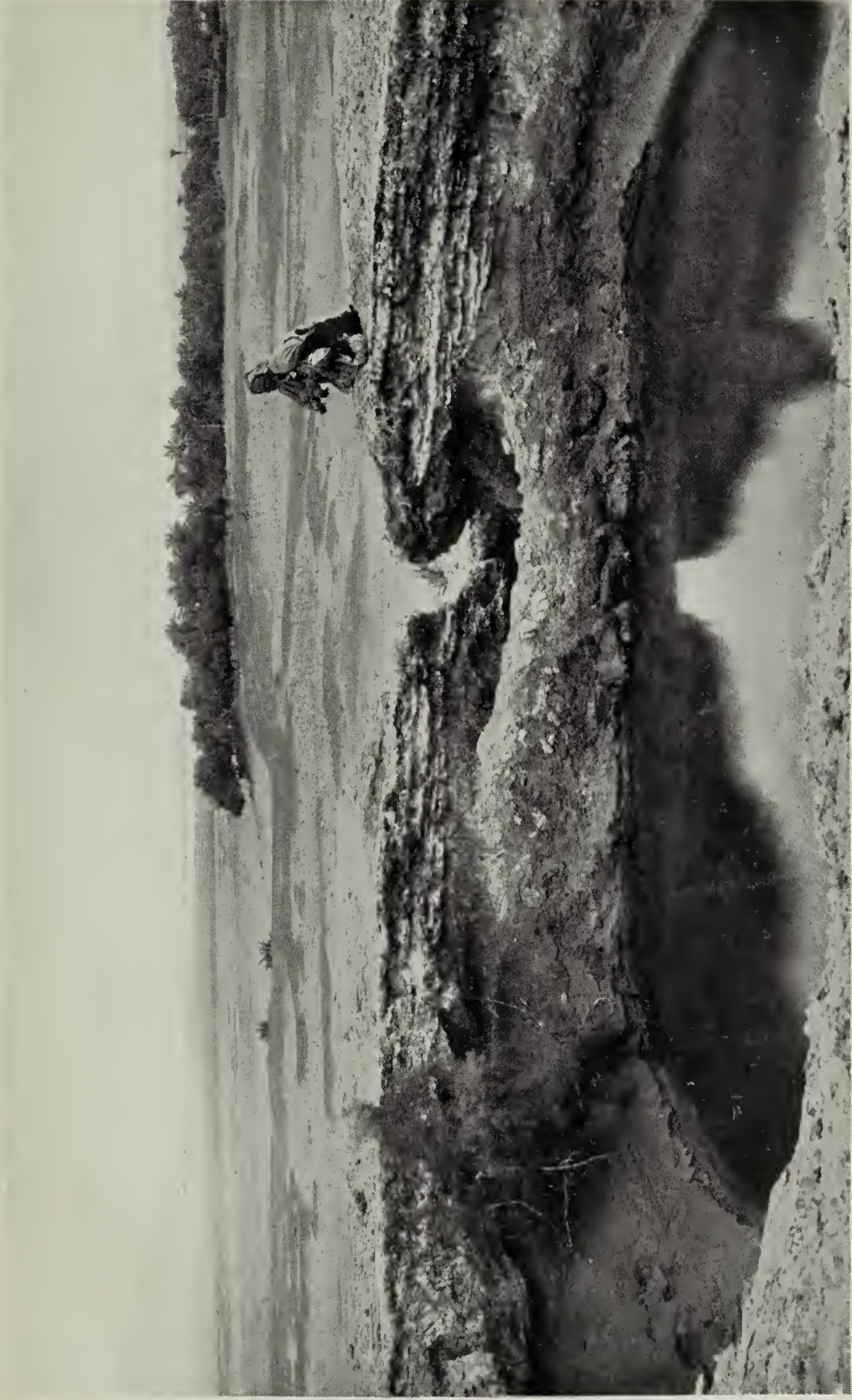
eager to secure a rider for a particular camel, others were eagerly desirous of securing a load of light hand luggage which was being placed in hampers of netted rope. They pulled each other, abused each other, elbowed each other and seemed about to break out into a deadly quarrel. We took a hand in the struggle and very quickly had them separated, with the exception of one or two couples who continued their battle across the unbloody sands. Later on in the journey we came to understand the meaning of this struggle, because these cameleers come from the various tribes of the Peninsula and have quarreled for centuries over the transportation of pilgrims to Sinai. When the fight was completed and we had chosen our riding camels, there were two disconsolate Bedawin who started off without either rider or loads for their animals. We could hear them shouting vengeance on their more fortunate comrades, and the discussion concerning this first encounter was extended through the following sixty hours, by night and by day, until we threatened to dismiss the whole lot of them if they did not postpone their settlement of it. Our plan was to reach the Springs of Moses, where we were to find our tents all pitched and our loads of baggage which had been taken across the canal earlier in the day. So we began our first stage of camel riding, and after the usual interesting attempts to mount the skittish creatures, we succeeded, and at once set off on the two and a half hours' journey through the desert. It is said to be six and a half miles from our landing-place to the Springs of Moses, and the route lies along the raised sea bed which stretches from the present shore back to the foot of the great limestone plateau of Tih. We passed on the left the quarantine for the Russian pilgrims, who still make the journey to Sinai and back on their pilgrimage in the Holy Land.

We noted at several points where the flints are covered, the surface of the sand had been swept back on either side,

leaving a fairly clear road between the two ridges, and we at once tried to realize that we were moving along one of the oldest roads upon our planet. It is almost certain that turquoise hunters tramped along this road eight thousand years ago, and that conquerors of the various Egyptian dynasties, together with miners of all ages, had preceded the tribes of Israel. Since the Christian era, and more especially during the last thousand years, it has been the road along which hosts of pilgrims have marched.

After about two hours the sandy plain lifted somewhat, and, just at sunset, we found ourselves on a ridge looking down upon the first oasis of the desert. These so-called Springs of Moses form an oasis of luxuriant vegetation, which is little more than half a mile in circumference. The oasis is divided up into four irregular sections or gardens, each of which is surrounded by its own prickly pear hedge. There are perhaps altogether some three hundred date palms and a great quantity of tamarisks, which make it a favorite stopping-place for the camels.

These springs well up through the sand and are retained in large pools, the largest of which is a pear-shaped cavity some fifty or sixty feet in length. The water flows sluggishly toward the sea. The area of irrigation from these springs is increased by the use of sweeps; at the end of each is an oil tin, by means of which they lift the water into little channels on the higher side of the pools. The whole lot of these gardens is worth perhaps 500 liras English, and there is a continual fight to keep the sand from blowing in and ruining every attempt at cultivation. The solitary palm tree, also often referred to as standing upon a mound some ten minutes toward the south, no longer exists, because the sands driven by the desert winds, acting as a sand blast, cut the trunk completely through and it now lies fallen. The mound on which this solitary palm stood for so many years is about 15 feet high and more than 100 feet across. On its sum-



The Wells of Moses—One of the pools in the foreground which has made its own little hill of fossil life. The oasis of palm-trees beyond

mit is the pool or spring seen in Figure 7. It is one of the most characteristic of the springs and is full of animal life. The adjacent slopes are covered with fragments of Arabic pottery and with quantities of slag which seems to have been left from the burning of lime. Broken shells lie about in great profusion, and it has been suggested that excavation here might possibly reveal remains of Roman origin.

There might as easily be twenty wells or springs as three, because wherever they dig the water appears. Three or four of the springs actually overflow the edge of their pools, but the little streams are soon swallowed up by the thirsty sands.

We found our camp pitched between two of the enclosures which gave us a little shelter from the wind. Our camels and cameleers had already huddled themselves in the lee of one of the hedges where they quickly prepared themselves to spend the night. Our four new tents, so white and clean, looked very inviting at sunset.

Early the next morning we were awakened by a moaning wind that seemed to sway through the palm trees a long while before it began to rock our tents, but about 6 o'clock we realized that we were to have the unique experience of a desert sand-storm. The cameleers had decided that they were not to journey that day, and began to make preparation for defending themselves against the rising storm. By 8 o'clock it was a small hurricane, and the air became dark with dust caused by the fine sand which was the first to be lifted. Later on the whole surface of the sand was in motion and, as the wind increased, began to fly through the air, cutting our hands and faces, until all we could do was to wrap our heads and push around half blindly in the storm. Mr. Taylor tried to photograph the sky and flying clouds. The tents rocked and swayed in spite of the stones banked upon the ropes. Tent pins, mallets and boxes lying upon the ground were soon

buried in the sand, and we realized that our baggage, guns, books, clothing, were becoming saturated with the finer particles of the yellow sand. The wind continued in its fierceness the greater part of the day, and while it lasted there was neither eating nor drinking with any semblance of comfort. Once or twice it let up a little and in the afternoon we got a glimpse of the sun through the dust-laden air. All the morning the wind was from the east, but in the afternoon about 4 o'clock it veered round south to the west. We thereupon ventured upon a walk to the sea-shore, which was about a mile or more away. We carried with us a single gun and enjoyed, for a few minutes, a whiff of the purer air beside the waves. Before we could return, however, it again blew a hurricane, hiding the whole oasis and the limestone plateau to the east. We then realized that, even though each one was the owner of a good compass, we had left the camp without bringing any instrument with us. As the wind increased and the air was filled with the flying sand, we took our bearing at right angles to the sea-shore, walking one in front of the other at intervals of about five yards, in order to make as straight a line as possible toward the oasis. The men meanwhile had grown anxious concerning our absence because of the renewal of the sand-storm. We walked for some time in uncertainty before we discovered the welcome palm trees rising through the dust-laden air. The wind continued at intervals all through the night, so that the sand-storm lasted practically twenty-four hours. The new tents were sorry looking affairs on the morning of the second day, and never regained their clean white color that we had rejoiced over in leaving Egypt. The thermometer during the night stood at 59° F.

The first day out of New York ended in the dry shipwreck of the "Republic," and our first day out of Suez, a still dryer sand-storm. Had we been possessed of senseless superstition we might have thought it was time to

turn back. But neither experience damped our spirits and we pushed forward with as pleasant a trip as was ever planned. Dr. Goucher once mischievously referred to the combination of what some would consider unlucky signs in his own case. It was his thirteenth trip over the Atlantic. The ship sailed on Friday, his berth was 46, the accident occurred on the 23d and he had actually been assigned the cabin in which the occupant was killed at the time of the collision. And still he went and was greatly refreshed and strengthened after the trip through the Desert of the Exodus.

CHAPTER VI

FROM THE WELLS OF MOSES TO ELIM

THE following morning (Friday, February 19th) the wind was still high, but the clouds had cleared away. We started ahead of our loads at 8:45, and after riding over a few slight elevations we struck a plain over which we rode for some four hours. For a distance of twenty miles there is hardly anything that could be called a valley which crosses this plain. When we reached the fork of the roads we avoided the track which veers southward toward the coast, and chose the track to the left which passes inland behind the sea cliffs. The simplest direction that can be given to the traveller is to follow the line of telegraph poles, near which we kept all the day long. We noted the fact that those who were responsible for the upkeep of this line of wire and poles have learned by sad experience the cutting power of the sharp sand driven before the wind, and in order to prevent the sawing off of these poles by the sand blast they have adopted the expedient of planting firmly two bits of old railroad track in the sand, which stand above the surface of the ground about one and a half meters, and in between these is bolted the wooden pole; and this device saves the destruction of the telegraph poles by the sand. During the day we journeyed under a clear blue sky with plenty of cool air blowing from all directions, which was a striking contrast to the previous day, which we had spent in keeping our eyes and ears and throats free from the driving dust and sand.

Those who have not had the privilege of riding the soft-footed, slow-going camel (Fig. 8) will be interested to



Milhem

Sinai Camel Express
Dr. Hoskins

Dr. Goucher

know that it is an exceedingly pleasant method of locomotion, with perhaps one single exception, and that is, that each time the camel moves one of his feet the rider is obliged to make a little bend of his body forward in order to preserve his equilibrium on the swaying saddle. We amused ourselves at this stage by calculating that each one was making five thousand little bows hourly, and this continued from the beginning to the very end of the camel journey.

All during the day we noted, in a thousand examples, how the wind, with the whirling sand, transforms itself into a sand blast and cuts the hardest stones and flints of the desert, large and small, into most curious patterns. In many instances we dug up nodules of flint of which the upper half had been cut into all manner of curious shapes by the action of the wind, while the lower part still retained its sharp or rounded character. The action of the sun with its intense heat carries on a never-ending chipping of the nodules of flint until the face of the desert is covered with millions of chips, now resembling knives and now resembling spear-heads. Again and again we picked up nodules, which in the hand fell into fifty different pieces, into which the flint had been broken by the excessive heat of the previous summer, but which still lay, like the pieces of a dissected puzzle, waiting for another wind storm or a blow from the foot of some passing animal to scatter the fragments over the sand. In many of the stones of softer material the wind bores holes that remind one of a dentist's skill and efforts at excavation, and then there are many stones which show both processes of the sand blast and the chipping by heat.

Toward evening we crossed the wide and shallow declivity of Wady Sudr or Sudur, because there are more than one of these shallow depressions, and pitched our tents on a bit of rising ground in between two seils.

During the day we had found time to inspect our

caravan, plan some readjustment of the loads, get ourselves into good marching order, and at evening to examine the camp in working order.

The outfit consisted of four new tents made in Egypt, a 12-rope tent for the kitchen, two 12-rope sleeping tents and a 14-rope tent for the dining room. The sleeping tents were furnished with good iron bedsteads, tables, washstands, and rugs and matting for the floors. The dining tent protected the canteen by day and was used also as a sleeping tent by Milhem and his son at night. Raschid, the cook, always slept with his outfit in the kitchen tent. Twenty-one camels were needed for our party between Suez and Sinai, and later, twenty-two camels between Sinai and Akaba. Two camels carried the kitchen chests, one camel carried coal, one the casks of water, one fruit and oranges, and another live chickens and the oven. Two camels carried the dining canteen, which included also extra provisions. There were two camels for the tents, three for personal luggage, two for tent pegs, iron beds and so on, and six for riding. Our party consisted of three persons and three camp followers, and sixteen cameleers, making twenty-two in all.

This was our first night in the desert and its charm settled like dew upon our spirits, and was never broken until more than two months later we abandoned our tents above the Sea of Galilee and took train for Damascus. One never ceases to be surprised at the hundred little contrivances and conveniences which came out of the rough looking bundles, from the lanterns to the flag poles which kept the stars and stripes flying every time the tents went up.

That night the commissariat was in good working order. Raschid had all his kitchen outfit where he could lay his hands upon each item, from the rolling-pin to the chicken coop, and he soon gave us a good specimen of his skill. Milhem and his son Naif unpacked the canteen and out

came the shining silver-plated waiter, the platters, the teapots, the candlesticks and an endless array of forks, knives and spoons, not to mention the gilt-edged dishes of every needed variety. We could not but recall those ancient Israelites with their cakes from unleavened dough and their kneading troughs upon their shoulders.

It was somewhere about this or the next camp that we made an inventory of our provisions, and it will be a matter of interest to those who follow us to know something about our food list. As Dr. Goucher put it, "We had nothing to eat in the desert BUT—"

cauliflowers	fresh fish	lemons
new peas	chickens	apples
new beans	turkey	bananas
lettuce	pigeons	dates
artichokes	beef steak	figs
carrots	lamb chops	walnuts
coosa	veal	almonds
onions	tongue	raisins
garlic	calves' brains	water cress
egg plant	sausages	salads
radishes	kid	dessert
cabbage	ham	bucklawy
turnips	bacon	Turkish delight
spinach	eggs	halawy
tomatoes	sardines	cookies
mushrooms	thon	rice pudding
rice	marmalade	custard
lentils	pickles	chocolate
tapioca	fresh goats' milk	tea
shrimps	oranges	coffee

This actual, not imaginary, food list is what we were able to carry into the desert between Suez, Sinai and Akaba. At Sinai itself I shot a number of partridges, and beyond Akaba I shot several hares, many partridges and blue rock wild pigeons, enough to serve our needs until we reached the Jordan. There are locations east of the Jordan where these blue rock pigeons, who are very strong fliers, are seen in flocks that number thousands. In a previous visit to Petra with Professor Myers I camped some distance above the entrance, and early in the morning, just about

sunrise, the pigeons which nested in the rocks of Petra itself came flying over our camp in tens of thousands. It took but a minute to bring down with my gun enough to last us for several days. These, with the exception of ibex and gazelle, were the only game which we saw east of the Jordan.

There are already three or four words which have been used that need explanation. Our camp was pitched in Wady Sudr or Sudur. Many such names have frequently more than one form, in this case some books have made use of the singular (Sudr) and others the plural (Sudur) of the same word. The word Seil is really a Hebrew word, and is the word which in the Psalms is translated "water spouts." It might in many instances be translated simply gullies or water-courses. The use of the word valley in the desert also needs modifying. For example, this Wady Sudr or Sudur is a space from a mile to a mile and a half wide, and the streams, whenever there is rain enough on the plateaus above to cause a stream, are seldom more than two or three feet deep at any point, so that it is not always easy to tell when you have entered such a valley or when you have left it, but the Bedawin Arabs insist upon applying the name valley to these wide stretches of desert.

The popular idea of the desert is perhaps as far astray as the popular idea of the oasis, which we shall deal with later. But the desert in Sinai, as the desert in Syria and Arabia, is not simply a sandy waste. There are heaps and stretches of sand in every desert, but the greater part of the desert here in Sinai is of hard dry earth, which seems to need nothing but rain to transform it into almost arable land. The northern part of the desert in Syria, that which lies due east of Damascus, is in spring covered with grass and flowers, and a journey across it at such times is easy for the camels and pleasant for the traveller. A hundred miles south of this line from Damascus to Deir Bekr the face of the desert is covered with stones, and by some

curious process these stones have been sorted out until there are miles of chips and pebbles all about the same size. Beyond you step into another stretch where they are all larger or smaller, as the case may be, until certain sections are covered with chips and stones twice as large as a man's fist, and again, other sections are graded down until they are as small as peas, and underneath all this stony desert there is a dark loam-like soil which, of course, is baked by the fierce heat of the sun, but which with irrigation can be quickly turned into land that would produce crops. The same is true in various parts of Sinai, fierce heat and lack of rain turns into desert what otherwise might be habitable country. Where the valleys cut through this sort of land and produce shallow depressions, the sand from the sea-shore and the crumbling cliffs of the plateau is gathered by the action of the winds, and shifts back and forward with the varying seasons.

On Saturday (February 20th) we struck camp at Wady Sudr and continued our way across the same wide plateau. After about three hours we were in another valley, called Wady Werdan, which is a broad strip similar to Wady Sudr, containing the same traces of torrents and the shifting drifts of sand. Toward the sea-shore in this valley Werdan there is a fountain called Abu Suweirah, from which a small amount of sweet water is obtainable.

About 11 A. M. we noticed a curious effect of refracted light. Looking several miles ahead, the country seemed to have taken on the form of a gigantic shallow bowl, and our caravan, like flies, seemed to be sliding down toward the center of the great cavity. At about the same time we noted some six or eight miles away what seemed like a worm or snake slowly sliding down from the extreme opposite rim. Our curiosity was greatly aroused and the sharper eyes of the Bedawin pronounced it another large caravan of camels and pilgrims. It was fully an hour before we met. It did prove to be a long line of eighty-four Russian pilgrims

coming from Sinai. With them was an armed cavass of the Russian Consulate, some 80 or 90 Arabs and 104 camels. It was an exceedingly interesting sight in the desert. They were strong, sturdy men and women, dressed in their heavy Russian clothing, astracan caps, thick leggings and heavy boots—exactly what they wore when they left their distant homes in the depth of a Russian winter. One woman had apparently made all preparation for a heavy rain, even though the sun was blazing hot in a land where rain seldom falls. After mounting her camel she had enveloped herself in a tent-like covering of black shining oilcloth, and from a distance resembled a funereal gondola on the lagoons at Venice.

About every person in the long line saluted us politely. We had dismounted and were working our cameras as they approached and filed past us. Some of them looked most wofully uncomfortable and were weeping at the callous inhumanity of the camel drivers, who paid no attention to their cries or fears or needs, being intent only on getting them over the desert sands and dumping them like bags of charcoal into the quarantine enclosure opposite Suez. The great majority of these pilgrims were elderly men and women with a sparse sprinkling of younger women.

This caravan recalls an experience which only old travellers can fully sympathize with. Between Suez and the Oasis of Feiran I had used up two films which contained 24 of my desert pictures. Somewhere between the Oasis of Feiran and my own home those two films were lost, and I shall never cease to regret the loss because they were unique, including views about Suez, the camp and caravan after the sand-storm at Ayun Musa and other incidents along the way.

Beyond Wady Werdan a range of hills presses down from the eastern plateau toward the coast line, and about 3 o'clock in the afternoon we entered these hills, and be-

fore we left them finally our barometers indicated a rise of 500 feet, as shown on the diagram (facing p. 24). Twenty-five minutes after reaching these hills we crossed the ridge and had a fine view of Jebel Hamman, lying almost due south. Our course lay east of the mountain through a stretch of limestone country, and after twenty minutes we were in the Wady el Amara, in which lie several masses of rock which the Arabs are always glad to point out. In such a desert country anything larger than a pebble—a bush, a bramble, a tree—is of interest, because it forms a landmark by means of which events or accidents that may happen are located. Fifteen minutes beyond the “stone of the riders” is the little fountain of Hawara, concerning which much has been written by many writers because it has been identified with the Biblical Marah (Exodus 15: 23-25). When Robinson passed along this route in 1838 he speaks of a basin six or eight feet in diameter and the water some two feet deep, but no traces of a stream running from it. Other travellers at different seasons have found more or less water, according to the seasons and according to the condition in which passing caravans left the little pool. There is no question about the waters being bitter and almost undrinkable, but the explanation of the degree of their bitterness is interesting. Whenever the pool in which the water has been allowed to collect has been cleaned out and enlarged the water becomes a little more palatable, but when the winds have refilled the pool with sand, choking the little fountain until it rises in the center of the sand-heap to its greatest possible height, it then of itself forms a little cavity not more than two feet in diameter and perhaps a foot in depth. The water, then welling up in this contracted cavity, seeps slowly over the edge and is lost in the sand. This, together with the evaporation, renders what is left much more bitter than when the pool is deepened and enlarged. When we reached the little fountain we found only a muddy hole from which

we could not have dipped two cupfuls of water, but the reason for this was simply the fact that the large caravan of Russian pilgrims with 104 camels had passed by but a few hours before and had completely emptied the little cavity and tramped it into a mud hole.

It seems very strange to those who live in the desert how any serious discussion could be held concerning the identification of this little fountain with the Marah referred to in the Bible. It is almost exactly sixteen and a half hours' camel journey from the Springs of Moses, a distance of thirty-three miles; it would be almost exactly three days' journey for any such caravan as the Children of Israel must have made. It is in the desert of Shur; the position of the springs and the nature of the country in general and the character of the water tally exactly with the Bible account. I shall return to this point in another connection later on. Suggestions have been made and questions have been asked concerning the sweetening of this bitter water by casting in the branches of some of the trees found in that vicinity, but the Arabs of to-day have no clue to any such process.

Wishing to reach Elim for the Sabbath, we found this day's journey too long for comfort. We were nine hours and a half in the saddle, and eleven hours including stops. The sixteen or seventeen hours between the Springs of Moses and Gharundal or Elim ought to be divided into three stages, because the camels can easily go two nights without water. If it must be done in two days, then the traveller must not allow the cameleers to pitch the first camp in Wady Sudr, but urge them farther, and if possible pitch in Wady Werdan. This whole stretch of desert road is almost absolutely barren and waterless, with the exception of the little fountain just referred to at Hawara. The descent into Gharundal in the late afternoon occupied more than one hour, winding back and forth among the hillocks and in crossing the smaller ravines, so that it

was considerably after sunset when we reached our camping-ground in Elim.

The next day was the Sabbath, and Wady Gharundal proved to be a pleasant camping-place. In all this journey we never found ourselves under the necessity of travelling or moving our camp on the Sabbath. In arranging our dates care had been taken to spend the Sabbaths in pleasant and interesting surroundings.

Exodus 15: 27 records that the Children of Israel came to Elim, where there were twelve springs of water and three score and ten palm trees. A more concise and accurate description could not be written in many paragraphs. The word *Elim* is said to be a plural of Elah, which means "terebinth," hence Elim means "terebinths," but the name may imply the presence of other prominent and lofty trees. It recalls stories of crossing the plains of the West when early settlers camped at "the willows" or "the cottonwoods."

According to the Bible narrative this is the first sweet water which the Children of Israel found after their passage of the Red Sea, and the same remains true until the present hour. Some books of travel remark that when rains fail for two or three years in succession the brook ceases to flow, but I have failed to note any record as to the impossibility of securing water by digging shallow holes in the sand. Robinson, in 1838, saw marks of water which had apparently been running through the valley that year. Palmer, in 1869, found a running stream, and at one point, where a broken rock caused a change in the level of the bed of the stream, a pool large enough and deep enough for a pleasant bath. Petrie, in 1904, found a good stream flowing. In December and March he says that, roughly speaking, the stream might have contained a couple of cubic feet per second. We found a great abundance of water not only in the pools which represent the fountain heads, but great shallow pools fully a hundred

yards long and from three to five inches deep. Several of the holes or pools were filled to the brim with quite a considerable overflow. We filled for drinking-water from those highest up the valley because they were subject to less contamination than those below.

Wady Gharundal or Elim is deeper and better supplied with bushes and shrubs than any other valley we passed through. There is also quite a number of low bushy palm trees, and here and there tall stately specimens which rise to a much greater height. We made no attempt at counting these palm trees, because their number must vary considerably from century to century. Growing in the bottom of the valley, they are subject to the action of flood-like streams which rush through the valley at unknown intervals. They are also subject to the action of the sand blast as the wind shifts the drifting sands from year to year. It is very certain that if the Bedawin Arabs who own these palm trees were asked concerning their number, they could answer with an accuracy equal to that recorded in the Old Testament, that is, if they wished to do so. But the chances are many that under ordinary circumstances they would refuse to answer, or make the number much smaller, having for ever before their eyes the possibility of a government tax levied on each tree. Scattered through the broad valley are large numbers of the ghurkud bushes and many turfa trees. This is said to be a species of the tamarisk, on which the camels browsed freely. All who agree in placing the Mountain of the Law somewhere among the peaks of the Sinai group have no difficulty in accepting the complete identification of Gharundal with the Elim of the Old Testament. We found it a lovely spot for a Sabbath camp, and as we roamed about the lonely region we found ourselves instinctively searching for inhabitants, but in this whole section of the valley, where the water and palm trees are most abundant, there is not a sign of human habitation, ancient or modern.

Another writer has referred to the fact of Gharundal having been a station on one of the Roman roads, but they certainly have left no signs of buildings such as are usually found, and certainly nothing in the shape of a bridge.

Not far away from the spot where we camped we were pleased to find the tents of two other travellers, the Rev. Anton Mayr, of Tandern, and Dr. Johann Göttberger, of Munich. We met them again at Sinai and many weeks later at Petra.

Our quiet Sabbath was spent in reading and in dating our letters as written from Exodus 15:27 in the Old Testament, and in many of them were enclosed little sections of the palm leaves. The more we thought and read and wandered, the more remote seemed everything connected with the modern world; we were beginning to live with Moses and the Children of Israel, and there was little difficulty in realizing that the country had not changed a whit during more than 3200 years which must have elapsed since Moses and the Israelites pitched their tents in this same lonely valley.

And here, according to our promise, we shall pause long enough in the journey to discuss the date of the Exodus.

CHAPTER VII

THE DATE OF THE EXODUS

CHRONOLOGY is usually supposed to be a rather dry department of knowledge, but there are ways of approach that bring the remote past into closer relations with the present time. I well remember as a boy talking with an old man, Thomas Dutton of Village Green, Pennsylvania, who was at that time 101 years of age, and who remembered, as a boy, having heard the cannon at the Battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777. Now fifteen such double links as his life and mine carry us easily back to the time of Christ, and twenty-five such double links back to the Exodus.

The fact has already been referred to, that highly developed civilization existed in both Babylonia and Egypt 4000 B. C. This led pseudo-scholars to leap to the conclusion that, therefore, man must have existed on the earth for many thousands of years prior to that date. Some even ventured the suggestion that hundreds of thousands of years might be needed to accommodate the Neolithic and Paleolithic stages of human life. But since then every deduction of sound scholarship has reduced these indefinite periods, and among the first attempts to limit the years was one that called for 14,000 B. C. Then came another reduction to 10,000 or 8000 years B. C. Since then better reasoning has brought the period down to 6000 years B. C., and there are not wanting indications that we may some day see even a closer approximation to the old-fashioned Biblical Chronology. Such a distinguished historian as P. V. N. Myers brings all human historical

records within a period of 7000 years, which includes the centuries A. D.

One of the sources of this wild reckoning was the attempt to set boundaries to the so-called Stone Age before allowing the Bronze Age to begin, and repeating the same error with the Iron Age. Then there are well-known examples of overlapping dynasties and divided empires. While journeying through the desert it was not an unusual sight to see one of our cameleers take from a pocket or bag the Old World flint and bit of steel to light his long-stemmed pipe. Failing in the attempt, he would produce from another bag or pocket a box of matches. Now any reasoning from the completing of the flint fire age ending before the age of matches would result in confusion only. Within fifteen years it was a common sight on Lebanon to see camels, a form of locomotion as old as the days of Abraham, toiling over the rocky mountain roads. Along with them other lines of horses, mules and donkeys. Just above or below them stretched the smooth white diligence road, built by the French in 1858-60, over which rolled the big diligence and long train of canvas-topped baggage wagons, while now above them all or below them all moved the swifter railway trains, and not infrequently passed the automobile. If some future archæologist, looking back into our present age, should argue that the camel must have disappeared before the horse, and the old-fashioned animal pack train before the wheeled vehicles, and all the horse-drawn vehicles before the locomotive, and that *periods of time* must be allowed for the development and disappearance of all these means of locomotion, neglecting the fact that the camel even now casts a disdainful glance at the aeroplane in Egypt, he would be simply imitating some pseudo-scholars who have attempted to deal with the fascinating facts of Egyptology.

Egypt is, indeed, the Land of Paradox, wherein is tested and rejected many a theory made and worked in

other lands. It is beyond all question that the so-called Stone Age overlapped the Copper or Bronze Age by hundreds if not thousands of years. Copper was mined in Sinai as early as 5000 B. C., while matchless specimens of flint knives with elaborately ornamented gold handles were used in sacrificial rites as late as the days of Herodotus, 484-424 B. C.¹ But even stranger than this later extension of stone implements is the earlier use of iron. The transition from the Age of Bronze to that of Iron in Europe took place about 800 B. C., but in Egypt, the land of wonders, fragments of worked iron have been found between two of the inner blocks, far down one of the air-shafts, in the Great Pyramid, dating back without a peradventure to the time of the IV Dynasty, about 3500 B. C.²

The whole Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was once impugned, and by so-called scholars rejected, because they claimed that writing was unknown at the time of Moses (say, 1550 B. C.), and that Abraham (say, 2000 B. C.), if he ever existed, was an ignorant Bedawin sheikh. But in Egypt inscriptions have been found containing the name of Menes, whose date cannot be much later than 5000 B. C., and other inscriptions which may be earlier. A papyrus found at Sakkara, in 1893, contains accounts dated in the reign of Assa, the last king of the V Dynasty (3500-4000 B. C.). This papyrus was lost to human view two thousand years before Abraham was born. Another papyrus (2500 B. C.) has incorporated within it the proverbs of Ptah-hotep, who lived centuries before. Babylonian inscriptions are extant of Sargon I, who flourished about 3750 B. C., and thousands of tablets from Telloh prove the free use of writing among the inhabitants of Babylonia at a date which cannot be placed lower than 4000 B. C. Thus writing, like the existence of iron, was

¹ "E. and W. A.," p. 14.

² Ibid., p. 112.

well known 2000 years before the date we are seeking in Hebrew history.

Reference has already been made to the yearly chronicle of events kept in Egypt and Babylonia (pp. 29, 30) from the earliest period, and a papyrus of the Davidic age, now at St. Petersburg, shows that a similar chronicle was kept in the Phœnician cities.

It is certain that the writer or compiler of the book of Kings had dated annals before him, and while the decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions has shown a discrepancy in the sum total of forty years in excess of Bible figures of that period, we are not at all hopeless as to the complete reconciliation of these figures.

While the Bible is not a treatise on Chronology, any more than it is a treatise on physics or astronomy, it does contain a large amount of chronological data which has been made the subject of ingenious and exhaustive research. Every year some hitherto unnoticed coincidence is brought to light, and these, combined with similar facts from archæological research in Egypt and Babylonia, are gradually clearing up a thousand recondite questions. Every now and then some discovery is made that in unskilful hands seems destined to overthrow Biblical data, but it can be confidently maintained that all modern research has tended and is tending toward a confirmation of Bible dates and facts.

Scholars are ever on the watch for cross-references and what are called locking dates, and every year reveals something new in this line. Reference has already been made (p. 35) to the astronomical confirmation of the date 1580 B. C. as the beginning of the XVIII Dynasty. Great light has been thrown upon Biblical dates of the Kingdom of Israel by researches in Assyria. The correctness of Assyrian figures from 900-625 B. C. is now thoroughly substantiated and presents a practically unbroken record. An important locking date for Old Testament history has

been fixed by the inscription of Shalmaneser II, to the effect that in 854 (or 884) Ahab of Israel was one of the confederates defeated by him at Karkar.

All modern scholars agree upon the date 1580 B. C. as the beginning of the XVIII Dynasty, even though they do not agree as to just when it came to an end. Breasted gives 1350, Toffteen 1345 and Petrie 1312. A great weight of Biblical and archæological evidence tends to locate the Exodus in connection with this dynasty. The data on which the fixing of the real date depends are no longer unintelligible to the ordinary reader. The few steps necessary are easily taken. The burning of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar in the year 585 B. C. is a date almost certainly known. Then by a process of dead reckoning we can count 412 years from the burning back to the building of the Temple by Solomon, giving us 997 B. C. as the temple date. Then 1 Kings 6: 1, which reads: "And it came to pass in the four hundred and eightieth [according to the LXX 440 years] year [479 years having gone by] after the Children of Israel were come out of Egypt . . . they began to build the house of the Lord," becomes of cardinal importance and the figures stand as follows:

Destruction of Temple	585 B. C.
Date of building 997	412
From Exodus to building	479
and we have	<u>1476</u> B. C. as date of the Exodus.

There is no reason to cast any doubt on the date 585 B. C. as the date of the temple burning. The next span of 412 years is reached by dead reckoning, and when we make use of the well-known Assyrian dates, and especially that of 854 for Shalmaneser's victory over Ahab, we meet the discrepancy of thirty years. Now if we modify the Assyrian dates to fit those of the Bible, we get one result, and if we modify the Bible dates, as understood, to fit the Assyrian, then we get a different result. Hence, while

Auchincloss¹ gives 1476 or 1477 as the date of the Exodus, another scholar, Toffteen,² gives 1447 B. C. These two are really the same date, because Toffteen takes 968 B. C. as the date of the founding of the Temple, and not 997, as given above.

Joshua	5 : 6	—Moses ruled.....	40 yrs.	
"	14 : 10	—The land divided at the end of.....	6 "	= 46 yrs.
"	24 : 31	—Joshua and "The Elders".....	60 "	
Judges	3 : 8	—Servitude to Mesopotamia.....	8 "	
"	3 : 11	—Othniel.....	4 "	
"	3 : 14	—Servitude to Moabites.....	18 "	
"	3 : 30	—Ehud and Shamgar.....	8 "	
"	4 : 3	—Servitude to Canaanites.....	20 "	
"	5 : 31	—Deborah.....	4 "	
"	6 : 1	—Servitude to Midianites.....	7 "	
"	8 : 28	—Gideon.....	4 "	
"	9 : 22	—Abimelech ruled.....	3 "	
"	10 : 2	—Tola ".....	23 "	
"	10 : 3	—Jair ".....	22 "	
"	10 : 8	—Servitude to Philistines and Ammonites.....	19 "	= 200 yrs.
"	12 : 7	—Jephthah ruled.....	6 "	
"	12 : 9	—Ibzan.....	7 "	
"	12 : 11	—Elon.....	10 "	
"	12 : 14	—Abdon.....	8 "	
"	13 : 1	—Servitude to Philistines.....	20 "	(40-20)
"	15 : 20	—Samson ruled.....	20 "	
1 Sam.	4 : 18	—Eli ".....	40 "	
		Samuel ".....	39 "	= 150 yrs.
EXODUS TO THE KINGDOM,.....			396 yrs.	
To Temple { Saul, 40 yrs. }			= 83 yrs.	
{ David, 40 yrs. }				
{ Solomon, 3 yrs. }				
EXODUS TO THE TEMPLE.....			479 yrs	

But the greater difficulty centers about the 480 years mentioned in 1 Kings 6:1. Such an exact statement requires that an accurate system of reckoning time was employed by the Children of Israel during all these years. It must be acknowledged in all fairness that we have no real confirmation of the underlying assumption that the writer of this verse, 1 Kings 6:1, makes in taking for granted that the Egyptian calendar, which is practically our own, was in general use all through that period in

¹ "A. C.," p. 53.
² "T. H. E.," p. 315.

Syria. It has been well suggested that such a provision would be found in the yearly Hebrew festivals, and especially in the Sabbatical and Jubilee years. But strange as it may seem, there is no mention in the Bible of a Jubilee year ever having been observed in all Hebrew history. There are those who claim that the 480 years are conjectural, and that the interval between the Exodus and the founding of the Temple is probably nearer 300 than 500 years. But those who wish to see how the Biblical data, gathered from the books of Joshua and Judges, fit the statement in 1 Kings 6:1 will be interested in the list from Auchincloss (page 79).

Those who question these figures must accept the burden of proof and bring forth some very conclusive arguments against them. Meanwhile we may well afford to wait, accepting the 15th century B. C. as the century of the Exodus.

There is, however, an extra-Biblical line of argument, which would bring it nearer to us by about two centuries. It runs thus: The Pharaoh of the Oppression, under whom the Children of Israel built the treasure cities of Pithom and Raamses (Exodus 1:11), has been identified as Raamses II. This fact, long conjectured, has been definitely settled, so it is claimed, by Naville's identification of Pithom with Tell el Mashkuta, and the further discovery that it was built by Raamses II. Now, Raamses II is a well-known king of the XIX Dynasty, and his date 1300-1234 B. C. Hence, if Raamses II is the Pharaoh of the Bondage, then the Exodus must have been in the 13th century, or 200 years later than the date given above.

It is further pointed out that Palestine was for many centuries an Egyptian province, and that Egypt was supreme there from the days of Thotmes III to the end of the reign of Raamses II (except during one short interval), or in round numbers, from 1500 to 1250 B. C. The argument here would be that the Exodus and the Conquest

of Canaan must have taken place after the Egyptian supremacy came to an end, and especially since there is no trace in Israel's tradition of the Conquest of any conflict with Egyptian forces in Canaan. Hence, Myer concludes that the Exodus could not have taken place later than 1180 B. C., and McCurdy locates it in the reign of Raamses II of the XX Dynasty and gives the date as 1200 B. C. Rawlinson and others make it 1280 B. C. Still another well-known writer, Mahler, assuming that the Hebrews are in some way identified with the Hyksos, works out the year of the Exodus as 1335 B. C., and, with the help of rabbinical tradition, March 27th as the day.

The brilliant writer Toffteen,¹ recognizing the force of the arguments for both the earlier (1447-1477 B. C.) and the later (1144-1180 B. C.) date, and taking advantage of the critical theories of the documents P. J. E. and D. in the Pentateuch, has worked out a most ingenious theory of a double Exodus, in which there are great similarities of the plagues, the names of the leaders and the routes. He then proceeds to select inscriptions from the monuments and papyri, which constitute one of the most fascinating chapters ever written on Biblical archæology.

Taking the date 1447 B. C. for the Exodus and the statement of Exodus 12:40 concerning the entrance into Egypt, then the settlement took place in 1877 B. C. One of the monuments of Sesostris II (1906-1887) acquaints us with the fact that in the sixth year of the king, *i. e.*, 1901 B. C., a caravan of thirty-seven Palestinian people visited an Egyptian prince at Benihassan, bringing with them eye-cosmetics and other presents, and that a slave boy was in their company. All in the monument have coats of many colors except, of course, the slave boy. Now, according to the Bible, the Ishmaelites also carried cosmetics down to Egypt, and even if it cannot be proved that Joseph was carried as a slave in this very caravan, the fact

¹ "T. H. E.," pp. 223-282.

remains that at that very time, 1901 B. C., caravans were passing from Palestine to Egypt bearing spices, cosmetics and slaves as the Bible states.

Then on a stele of Sebek-khu, discovered at Abydos, there is a figure with a superscription "son of Jagp," and in two rows behind him six of his relatives, one of whom is his "wife" or "lady," whose name reads "S-ny." Now, this Egyptian official, Sebek-khu, was born in 1917 B. C., the date of Joseph's birth, and got his great promotion in 1887, the same year in which Joseph was made governor. Now, Genesis 41:41-43 says that the people called out before Joseph "Abrik," which probably means "Bend the knee" or "Bow the knee," and the chief title of this Sebek-khu when raised to office was *Wertu*, the sign for which in the Egyptian is *the sign of the bended knee*. The most remarkable fact recorded on this tablet of Sebek-khu is his expedition to Palestine against the Retemu and Aamu of Sekmeni, which may mean Sikima, a name for the territory about Mount Gerizim. Now these Aamu correspond to the Amorites, and Genesis 48:22 becomes peculiarly significant where the dying Israel says to Joseph: "Moreover I have given to thee Sikima (Shikmim) as a portion above thy brothers which I took out of the hand of the Amorites with my sword and with my bow."

Just before Israel died he requested to be buried in the land of Canaan, and after his death Joseph set out with an expedition to fulfil this dying request, but he took not only all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, and all the house of Joseph, but "there went up with him both chariots and horsemen: and it was a very great army." And so this funeral procession was also a great warlike expedition, the Bible emphasizing the funeral and the monument the fighting.

Now, while no one can absolutely affirm the identity of Sebek-khu with Joseph, the parallel between the Biblical

narrative and the monument is a startling one. "Both were born in the same year, of fathers of the same name. Both marry wives of the same name (Asenath, Genesis 41: 45, 50). Both are raised in the same year to an office the title of which in both cases is the same, at which time both are given beautiful names that are very similar (Gen. 41: 45). And they both lead expeditions against the same people in the same lands in the reign of the same king."¹

Returning again to the Exodus date (1477-1447 B. C.), it is not hard to calculate the date of the birth of Moses forty years after the Exodus or 1407 B. C. Being then 120 years old, he was born about 1526 B. C., and at that time Thutmose I was king of Egypt.

"This king had a daughter named Hatshepsut, one of the truly remarkable women of all time. She was born about 1540-45 B. C. She must then have been between fifteen and twenty years of age when Moses is said to have been born. The events of Moses' early life and the history of this Hatshepsut fit together most remarkably. She became co-regent with her father in 1522 B. C., and after his death became sole ruler of Egypt, in 1508 B. C. She would indeed make a powerful patroness for a humble Hebrew. She died in 1486 B. C., and was succeeded by her half-brother Thutmose III, who hated her so that he erased her name from all the monuments which he could lay his hands on. Her partisans, doubtless, all fled. If they had not done so their deaths must soon have resulted. Now, if the Biblical dates are to be trusted, this must have been in Moses' fortieth year, seeing that he was born in 1526 B. C. and this death took place in 1486 B. C. And Josephus, indeed, states that Moses did flee from Egypt in his fortieth year."²

Now it is known that Thutmose III "used Asiatic serf labor for brick-making and for building his numerous

¹ "T. H. E.," p. 243.

² Ibid., pp. 249, 250.

temples. So states explicitly his vizier Rekhmire." It is known also that he had Hebrews in his army. This cruel, grim Thutmose III fits beautifully with the Pharaoh of the Oppression.

"Thutmose III died in 1450 B. C. If the Exodus took place in 1447 B. C. (1477), then it must have happened in the reign of Amenhotep II, three years after Thutmose III's death. And, indeed, the Bible says that Pharaoh the Oppressor died, and then it was that God appeared to Moses and sent him back to lead out his people. Now, Amenhotep's constant title on the monuments is 'Ruler of Heliopolis,' which indicates that that was his residence city. And Heliopolis is only a few miles distant from Goshen, where, according to Bible accounts, the people were centered. Thus the frequent visits of Moses to Pharaoh were neither inconvenient nor improbable. And, perhaps, the utter absence of all record of a Hebrew exodus at this time is due to the fact that most of the inscriptions and monuments of Heliopolis have been forever lost from the face of the earth."¹

Forty years after the Exodus the Children of Israel entered Palestine, about 1407 B. C. (1437). Amenhotep III and IV ruled from 1438-1370, and during these two reigns the Amarna letters were written. These letters, about 350 in number, are clay tablets covered with cuneiform inscriptions, which deciphered give a fascinating glimpse of the world at that date as seen from the great throne of the Pharaoh. They contain the diplomatic correspondence of the kings of Babylonia, Assyria and other countries of western Asia, *including Palestine* with the Egyptian Court. Their bearing upon the Exodus is twofold: they describe the breaking up of the Egyptian power in Palestine by the extension southward of the Amorites and the Hittites; and they mention the coming of the two peoples entering Palestine from a southeasterly

¹ "T. H. E.," p. 250.

direction, one called the Sutu and the other called Ha-bi-re. The consensus of scholars identifies these Ha-bi-re with the Biblical Hebrews. Their names are the same and the chronologies fit perfectly. Those who doubt the identification do so because they are held by some other scheme of chronology. In one of the Amarna letters these Ha-bi-re¹ attack the city of Jerusalem, and the Bible, Judges 1:21 and Joshua 10:1-11, says the same. Then the Amarna letters mention a number of persons and places which are easily matched with Biblical equivalents:² Hobab, Joshua and Ehud, a judge living in Jericho at that time. In fact there are letters from this judge, written while Joshua was drawing near to take the city.³ And there are two letters written by a certain woman so unique that a number of Assyriologists have compared her with the Biblical Deborah.

And, finally, an inscription, unearthed in 1907 at Boghaz-köi, located in Cappadocia, and identified as the old capital of the Hittites, confirms the existence of the Midianites as near neighbors of Moab, when Balak, king of Moab, asked the "elders of Midian" (Num. 22:4) for a priest to curse his enemies.

These are only a *partial* list of the interesting confirmatory non-Biblical statements bearing upon the 15th century date of the Exodus.

Concerning the later or 13th century date, there are some curious extra-Biblical data. For almost a century, ever since the study of Egyptology began, it has been a standing challenge that no reference to the Children of Israel had ever been found in Egypt, and certainly Biblical scholars have waited patiently for the great era which is just now opening. As usual the discoveries have been baffling to all concerned, not confirming exactly what many pro-Biblical

¹ Discovered at Tel el Amarna among the ruins of a residence of Amen-hotep IV about 160 miles above the Delta and 300 miles below Thebes.

² "T. H. E.," p. 255.

³ Ibid., p. 264.

scholars contended for, and still less comforting to the anti-Biblical critics and making havoc with many cherished theories of all concerned.

One of the main arguments for the later date is the statement that the Pharaoh of the Oppression, under whom the Children of Israel built the treasure cities of Pithom and Raamses (Ex. 1:11), has been identified as Raamses II, and his date being 1300-1234 B. C., would of necessity bring the Exodus into the 13th century. We must wait for further light before we can pronounce finally upon the validity of this conclusion, but meanwhile we may suggest two things. Many cities in history have been *rebuilt*, and it may yet turn out to be the fact that Raamses II repaired and enlarged a previously existing city. The change in names is not an unheard of thing either in those days or our own. The second consideration is the well-known fact that when inscriptions on the monuments are changed, they are always from an earlier to a later date, some later king or dynasty laying claim to deeds or works that belong to earlier reigns. We can conceive of confused references to the Exodus two centuries *after* it occurred, but it is against all possibilities to have any reference to it two centuries *before* it occurred. Therefore, we rightly prefer the earlier date with our present light.

The second strand of this argument for the later date (p. 80) is a weak one. It is claimed that Palestine was for many centuries an Egyptian province, and that Egypt was supreme there from the days of Thotmes III to the end of Raamses II, say from 1500-1250 B. C., and therefore the Exodus must have occurred later than 1250. Now this general statement is almost absolutely disproved by the Amarna letters, which show the breaking up of the Egyptian power while the Children of Israel were in the wilderness (1447-1407, 1477-1437). Diplomatically, Egypt may have been claiming power over Syria two centuries later.

The same is true in the case of every nation of antiquity in its decline, claiming suzerainty or sovereignty over the territories which had long since passed from under its power. We see the same in Europe to-day, and find excellent examples in Turkey's ownership of Egypt, Cyprus, Morocco, etc. Ancient possessions lie in the pompous titles of kings long after the people have forgotten the claim.

The famous Israel Stele of Merneptah¹ discovered at Karnak in 1896, which by some is now regarded as the first real mention of Israel in Egypt, weakens the argument for the later date, because Merneptah's date, according to Petrie, 1234-1214 B. C., mentions the destruction of Israel *before* they could have reached Palestine, according to the later date 1250, 1200 or 1180 B. C. Now it is much easier to imagine that the fulsome flatterers of the king Merneptah, in writing an inscription of his exploits in Palestine, which chronicled the destruction of the Nine Bows, the Hittite and the Canaanite, to have *included* Israel, then *in existence* as a people, than it is to reconcile this inscription with the later date for the Exodus. As a matter of fact, we well know that he did not at that time succeed in overthrowing their kings, but was rather overthrown by them. And Raamses III may have used serf labor for rebuilding the temples and cities, as almost every other Pharaoh did, but it does not necessarily follow that these serfs were the Children of Israel (1202-1171).

¹ (From W. M. F. Petrie, "Six Temples of Thebes," Pl. XIV.) This inscription reads:

"The kings are overthrown, saying 'Salam!' Not one among the Nine Bows holds up his head. Wasted is Tehenu; the Hittite is pacified; plundered is the Canaanite land, with every evil; carried off is Askalon; seized upon is Gezer; Yenoam is made as a thing not existing; Israel—its inhabitants are destroyed, it has no grain; the Horite land has become a widow for Egypt. All lands are united, they are pacified. Every one that is turbulent is bound by King Merneptah, giving life like Re, every day."—Gray, "Numbers," p. xlv.

"This allusion of Merneptah's is the only contemporary mention of Israel in what may be termed widely the age of Moses."

In answer to the double Exodus theory, it may be said here that the Bible does not claim that every Hebrew in Egypt went out with Moses, and there are monumental references to small colonies of Hebrews remaining in Egypt many years later. Now it is not at all impossible that other bands of Israelites left Egypt in succeeding centuries, and made their way to Palestine by one or other of the well-known routes. It may even be that in the re-editing of the Old Testament manuscripts otherwise editors may have thrown in a word or a name confusing another possible route with that of the Exodus proper, but I cannot feel, after years of study, that the difficulties are enough to require a double Exodus theory, much less to prove it. If ever the history of the present Zionist movement is written up by its most enthusiastic upholders, they will hardly claim that all the Jews left Russia and Poland and New York and came to the Holy Land in the 20th century, and I imagine that in Moses' time there were many well-to-do Hebrews who preferred to remain in Egypt in preference to the journey through the wilderness. I can also conceive that in later times, when the conquest of the Promised Land was an assured success, they may have followed in parties large and small to share in the division of the land.

Hence, in conclusion, I record my firm conviction in favor of the 15th century date of the historical Exodus, and remind my readers that the discrepancy in the double date, 1477 B. C. and 1447 B. C., is a discrepancy that lies outside the Biblical records. I cherish the expectation that some day we shall know the exact date because, as before insisted upon, it lies far this side of the middle point in the great stream of human history, and that each succeeding year of investigation and exploration is increasing the data which bear directly upon the problem and strengthen the promise of a final solution. And whether we finally accept the earlier (1477) or the later (1200-1280) date, let us keep

firm hold of the fact that the double argument strengthens rather than weakens the historicity of the Exodus. As children, some of us knew of no date and no discovery of America other than that by Columbus in 1492. Evidence of another and earlier discovery does not take anything away from the fact that America has been *really discovered*.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ROUTE FROM PITHOM AND RAAMSES TO SINAI

HERE while resting at Elim we will examine more carefully the first section of the route as given in the Bible, and dispose of some of the objections which have been urged against the whole region of Sinai. During three or four decades the Christian world has been engaged with the revision of the Bible. During the past ten years we have been busy with a revision of many of our ideas concerning the Bible. There is no doubt that we have read many things into the Bible which are not there, and certainly others have drawn many things out of the Bible which are not there. Certain old hypotheses must be negatived. Some of these have been touched upon already and others will be touched upon later: (1) The Biblical Sinai was not completely outside the pale of ancient civilization. (2) It contained important mines with at least one port or landing-place. (3) The northern section of the country was intersected with trade routes. (4) There existed in the Peninsula forms of religion far removed from the semi-fetishism of the Arabs. The religious center at Serabit was primarily and essentially Egyptian, although there are traces of Babylonian influences.

If I were to draw a simple symbolical representation of Sinai it would consist of a camel, a Bedawy and a granite mountain. These three constitute the essential features of the land, and through them we must interpret the history of the past. It is said that in New Testament times the rabbins ordered that those who ate a gnat or a fly should be scourged or excommunicated, and hence the metaphor,

“straining out a gnat and swallowing a camel.” Ever since I have been journeying into this section of the world that New Testament metaphor has been running through my brain. It would seem that a large number of modern commentators who know nothing about the country of the Exodus at first hand, were living in fear of the rabbins when they come to deal with the geography of the Exodus, because they are constantly straining out the gnat and swallowing not only the camel, but also the Bedawy and the mountain.

In the revision of our ideas concerning the Exodus we need, however, to realize clearly that the Children of Israel could easily have marched through Egypt into Canaan, from the Nile to the Jordan, in a single year, and that, as a matter of fact, only one year was consumed in the covering of the 1100 miles between Raamses and the Jordan. Eleven months were spent at Sinai and thirty-seven years at Kadesh, where they settled down, roamed about the country and even threatened to return to Egypt before they continued their journey. There is no *a priori* difficulty in the fact that the Children of Israel “wandered” to a sacred mountain called Horeb, nor any need to regard the sanctity of that place as having been acquired in the time of the Exodus. Nor is there a shred of proof to justify the suggestion that the sacredness of the whole district was something projected back upon the story by later chroniclers. Furthermore, I have come to believe with an unshakable conviction that Moses knew the whole district of Sinai as fully as any Arab sheikh of the country knows it to-day, and that the thirty-seven years of the Exodus were not spent in blundering attempts to find the way either through or out of the country. He had already spent forty years, according to the Bible, in that desert, he had taken a wife from among the Kenites. His father-in-law met him at Sinai, and for thirty-seven years the Children of Israel dwelt with and among their

friends the Kenites about Kadesh Barnea. These same Kenites, befriending the Children of Israel, incurred the enmity of the enemies of the Israelites, so that when finally the Children of Israel undertook the last section of their journey, these Kenites journeyed with them to Jericho, and four hundred years later King Saul mentions their kindness to the Children of Israel when they came out of Egypt.

The "wandering" of the Children of Israel is another idea into which we have unconsciously read much more than the Bible and the facts warrant. A glance at any good concordance of the English Bible will reveal the fact that at least eight distinct Hebrew words have all been translated by the one English word "to wander." It is perfectly certain that our one word cannot cover the various meanings which a pastoral people living in such a section of the country attached to these various words, and in the discussion of the second portion of the route I shall return to this item.

References.	Names of Places.	Dates of Arrival.	Miles.
Exodus	12: 37 Left Rameses—"Zoan".....	B. C. 1477, April 19	
Numbers	33: 5 Arrival at Succoth.....	" April	30
Exodus	15: 22 Etham or Shur.....	" "	
"	14: 9 Pi-hahiroth.....	"	42
"	14: 15 Crossed the Red Sea.....	" probably May	
"	15: 22 Wilderness of Shur.....	" "	
"	15: 23 Marah.....	" "	47
"	15: 27 Elim.....	" "	
Numbers	33: 10 "By the Red Sea".....	" "	28
Exodus	16: 1 Wilderness of Sin.....	" May 19	
Numbers	33: 12 Dophkah (camped).....	" "	
"	33: 13 Alush.....	" May	
Exodus	17: 1 Rephidim.....	" "	
"	19: 2 Desert of Sinai.....	" "	
"	19: 1 Arrived at Mt. Sinai.....	" June 3d	82
Numbers	10: 11 Left Mt. Sinai.....	B. C. 1476, May 12th	
"	11: 3 Taberah (camped).....	B. C., 1476, May 15th	
"	11: 34 Kibroth-hattaavah.....	" month of June	
"	11: 35 Hazeroth.....	" probably June	
"	12: 16 Wilderness of Paran.....	" "	
"	33: 18 Rithmah (camped).....	" "	
"	33: 19 Rimmon-parez.....	" "	
"	33: 20 Libnah.....	" "	
"	33: 21 Rissah.....	" "	
"	33: 22 Kehelathah.....	" "	
"	33: 23 Mt. Shapher.....	" "	
"	33: 24 Haradah.....	" "	
"	33: 25 Makhaloth.....	" "	
"	33: 26 Jahath (camped).....	" probably July	
"	33: 27 Tarah.....	" "	
"	33: 28 Mithcah.....	" "	

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References.	Names of Places.	Dates of Arrival.	Miles.
Numbers	33: 29 Hashmonah.....	B. C. 1476, Probably July	
"	33: 30 Moseroth (camped).....	" "	
"	33: 31 Bene-jaakan.....	" "	
"	33: 32 Hor-hagidgad.....	" "	
"	33: 33 Jotbathah.....	" "	
"	33: 34 Ebronah (camped).....	" "	
"	33: 35 Ezion-gaber.....	" "	116
Judges	11: 16 The Red Sea to Kadesh.....	" "	97
Numbers	13: 20 } Wilderness of Paran or Zin.....	" month of July	86
"	13: 21 }		
"	20: 1, 22 { " People abode in Kadesh".....		
Joshua	24: 7 } (Ayn Qadees).....	B. C. 1475, March 12th	
Deut.	1: 46 }		
"	2: 1, 14 Left Kadesh after 38 years.....	B. C. 1438, month of July	
"	10: 6 Beeroth.....	"	
Numbers	33: 37 Mosera, facing Mt. Hor ¹	" July 20th	
Deut.	10: 7 Gudgodah.....	" August 20th	
"	10: 7 Jotbath.....	" probably Aug.	
Judges	1: 17 Hormah or Zephath.....	"	40
Numbers	21: 3		
Deut.	2: 8 Plain or Way of the Arabah.....	" probably Sept.	102
"	2: 8 Wilderness of Moab.....	"	
Numbers	33: 41 Zalmonah.....	"	56
"	33: 42 Punon.....	"	
"	21: 10 Oboth.....	"	
"	21: 11 Ije-abarim.....	"	
Deut.	1: 1 Tophel.....	"	
Numbers	21: 12 Valley of Zared.....	"	
Deut.	2: 26 Wilderness of Kedemoth.....	"	87
Numbers	21: 14 Brooks of Arnon.....	"	
"	21: 16 Beer.....	"	
"	21: 18 Mattanah.....	"	
"	21: 19 Nahaliel.....	"	
"	21: 19 Bamoth.....	"	
Deut.	2: 32 Jahaz.....	"	
"	4: 43 Bezer—city of refuge.....	"	
Joshua	13: 9 Areor.....	"	27
"	13: 17 Dibon.....	"	
Numbers	32: 3 Ataroth.....	"	
"	33: 46 Almon-diblathaim.....	"	
Joshua	13: 9 Madeba.....	"	
"	13: 17 Baal-meon.....	"	
Numbers	33: 47 Mts. of Abarim, Nebo.....	"	
"	21: 25 Heshbon.....	" probably Oct.	25
"	32: 37 Elealah.....	"	
"	21: 32 Jaazer.....	"	
"	32: 35 Jogbehah.....	"	
"	21: 33 Ederi.....	"	68
Joshua	13: 31 Ashtaroth.....	"	
Deut.	4: 43 Golan—city of refuge.....	"	
"	3: 4 60 cities of Bashan.....	"	
"	3: 8, 9 " ".....	"	
"	4: 48 Mt. Hermon.....	"	
Numbers	32: 42 Kenath.....	"	
Deut.	3: 10 Salchah.....	B. C. 1438, probably Oct.	102
Joshua	13: 26 Mahanaim.....	" probably Nov.	56
Deut.	3: 16 River Jabbok.....	"	24
Joshua	13: 27 Succoth and Zaphon.....	"	
Deut.	4: 43 } Ramoth-gilead—city of refuge.....	"	11
1 Kings	22: 3 }		
Joshua	13: 26 Betonim.....	"	
Numbers	32: 36 Beth-nimrah.....	"	
Joshua	13: 27 Beth-aram.....	"	
Numbers	33: 49 Beth-jeshimoth.....	"	
"	33: 50 Plains of Moab.....	"	
"	25: 1 Shittim.....	" Winter	
Deut.	4: 46 Beth-peor.....	"	
Joshua	3: 14 Crossed the Jordan.....	B. C. 1437, March 21st	24
"	4: 19 Gilgal taken.....	"	
Total			1150

¹ Jebel Madurah.

Finally, in this revision of our ideas, it is necessary to grasp the fact that the Bible record of the Route is complete. "The history of their journey is scattered through half a dozen different books; the records change back and forth from one place to another nearly a hundred times," and in order to make this perfectly clear and for the purpose of reference I have introduced (pp. 92, 93) Israel's itinerary as given by Mr. Auchincloss.¹

I have already remarked elsewhere (p. 22) that the first section of the route from Pithom to Raamses is well known, and that the fourth section from Akaba to the Jordan is also well known; that the difficulties concerning the route lie in the second section from Sinai to Akaba, and in the loop section extending from Akaba to Kadesh Barnea and back again.

I am well aware that certain commentators in straining out gnats have swallowed both the camel and the mountain in asserting that the Biblical Mount Sinai was not in the Peninsula at all, and that the final resolution of this whole problem must rest upon a discrimination of the documents (see Chapter XVIII) and upon the results of further archæological investigation, not only in the Peninsula, but also to the north and east of it. Since my return two years ago I believe I have read almost every argument that has been urged in favor of this imaginary location east of the Gulf of Akaba in the imaginary land of the Midianites, and I am constrained to say that no hypothesis ever brought was more gratuitous and unnecessary. The evidence at hand in favor of the traditional location of the Mountain of the Law as among the peaks of the Sinai group is, to my mind, absolutely convincing, and in presenting the cumulative evidence for my belief I shall have in mind the various points which have supported this other impossible hypothesis.

The Sinai-Midianite hypothesis is one of a chain like the

¹ "A. C.," pp. 55-57.

cycles and epicycles of ancient astronomy. Each time they meet a fresh difficulty they add a new cycle, and this involves a new set of epicycles; so it is with the Sinai-Midianite hypothesis, it involves the Ishmaelites and the Midianites and the Kenites, and a great deal of imaginary geography. Many of those who have inclined to this hypothesis have usually wound up their arguments by saying that we must wait for a more careful survey of all the country north and east of Sinai. I should like to remind all those who cherish the expectation of any confirmation from such surveys that their hope is groundless. During the last ten years the whole section of the country from Damascus to Medina has been surveyed by the German engineers who have built the Mecca pilgrimage railway, and all along the line they have conducted exploring expeditions east and west, until we have accurate maps of the whole country east and south of the head of the Gulf of Akaba. I have had several conferences with Meisner Pasha, the head surveyor and brilliant German scholar, interested in every problem concerning the people and history and archæology and mineralogy of that part of the world, and neither he nor any of those who have labored with him of various nationalities have a single suggestion to make that would in any wise support this Sinai-Midianite hypothesis. And one other observation before I leave this point. So much of the reasoning has been based upon the various names of the tribes and the divisions of these tribes by those who have no comparative knowledge of what exists in this section of the world to-day. Much of this reasoning can be shown to be absolutely irrelevant by noting some of the present conditions: the same man can to-day be spoken of as a Syrian, an Arab, a Moslem, a Bedawy and a Turk. In exactly the same way as a New Englander could be spoken of as a Vermont man, a prohibitionist, a Baptist and a vegetarian. It all bears upon the connection in which we are speaking

of him. In a geographical sense he is a Syrian, as far as blood is concerned he is an Arab, in religion he is a Moslem, because he is a dweller in tents he is a Bedawy, politically, as a subject of the Sultan, he is a Turk.

I might go further and explain how the Arabs of the desert are divided into great tribes, such as the Bani, Sakhr (children of the rock); the Bani-Saad (children of some distinguished ancestor of that name), the Rouella and the Anazi. These great tribes are again subdivided into great families or clans who are often unfriendly with each other. After much review and study I am inclined to feel that the "Midianites" was a term used to embrace almost everybody living east of the Jordan, and that the Ishmaelites were a section of them and the Kenites¹ a still smaller section. Living on the borderland between ancient civilization and the desert, some of them were traders, like those who carried Joseph into Egypt, dealing in frankincense and myrrh, while others were an altogether pastoral people. This easily explains the opposite qualities of the various sections with whom the Children of Israel came into contact. The Kenites, among whom the Children of Israel dwelt for thirty-seven years, were apparently quiet pastoral people, whereas the Midianites, with whom the Children of Israel came into contact on the Plains of Moab, were distinguished by their licentiousness. The various names applied to them were supplied by the circumstances of the contact and intercourse in just the same way as, for one reason or other, we differentiate between Syrian, Moslem, Arab, Bedawy and Turk.

The argument which covers and fixes the first section of the Route, and with it the true location of the mountain of the Law, is cumulative and may be stated somewhat as follows: Water governs everything, and what this means in the Desert of Sinai is interpreted to us beyond a per-

¹ The Rechabites were descendants of the Kenites.—1 Chron. 2: 55.

adventure by the camel, the Bedawy and the mountain, which have garnered for us the residuum of human experience from all the ages. The conditions of life in this battle between the human frame, animal life and vegetable life, and the almost intolerable conditions of nature, have stripped the problem of every transitory accessory and have left it as hard and dry and fixed as the granite of Sinai itself.

The Land of Goshen has been fully identified, and the origin of the ancient name Geshem or Gesem has been picked up in the ancient hieroglyphic list of "Nomes" or administrative districts of Egypt. Kesem is mentioned as the twentieth Nome of Lower Egypt and its capital was Pa-Soft. Pithom was recovered by Naville (1885), at Tell el-Mashkuta, "Mount of the Statue," so named from a statue which is there at the present time, of Raamses II, sitting between the two solar deities Ra and Tum. It was a square city about 220 yards in length enclosed by enormous brick walls and containing a great series of store-chambers and a temple. The general form of these store-chambers is now well known from the representations of them on the walls of temples and palaces. The ancient name of the place was Pi-tum, the "House of Tum," and was used purely as a magazine for supplying provisions to Egyptian armies about to cross the desert and perhaps also a fortress for the protection of the Egyptian frontier. Raamses remained unidentified until 1906, when this ancient site was recovered by Professor Flinders Petrie at Tell er-Retabeh, "in the middle of the length of the Wady Tumlat, about 20 miles from Ismaliyeh on the east." "We found here," says Professor Petrie, "a temple of Ramessu II with sculptures in red granite and limestone; part of the tomb of an official who was over the storehouse of Syrian produce; and the great works of Ramessu III—all these discoveries exactly accord with the requirements of the city of Raamses, where both

the two or three kings of that name are stated to have worked and where a store city was built by the Israelites along with that of Pithom, which is only eight miles distant. The absence of any other Egyptian site suitable to these conditions which are all involved here makes it practically certain that this was the city of Raamses named in Exodus.”¹

This clears up the starting-point of the Route lying exactly where it should be in the Land of Goshen. The next movement of the Children of Israel was from Raamses to Succoth (Ex. 12:37), which is a Semitic word meaning “booths,” but in this connection it is more probably a Semitic adaptation of an Egyptian word which has been spelled Thku(t). One of the papyri speaks of “a royal fortress (Hetem) of Thku close by the pools of Pithom.” There is frequent mention of the name Thku in the inscriptions found at the ancient city of Pithom, and it has been suggested that if Pithom and Raamses were not identical, they were so close together as to form practically one settlement. We have a thousand examples of the same character in cities and towns such as New York and Brooklyn, Minneapolis and St. Paul, and smaller cities. “They journeyed from Succoth and encamped in Etham in the edge of the wilderness” (Ex. 13:20). It is almost certain that at that time the whole northeastern frontier of Egypt was guarded by a wall and line of fortresses lying east of the present Suez Canal. This does not mean that such a wall was continuous, because there could have been no object in carrying it through the great sections of swampy land which existed in those days as to-day. At least two such fortresses guarding two routes from the desert are known to have existed, and here, somewhere before this wall and these fortresses, the Children of Israel were obliged to turn back or, as we have

¹ “Hyksos and Israelite cities.” British School of Archæology and Egyptian Research Account, 12th year, 1906.

every reason to believe, southward. There are two probable reasons for this particular movement. If the fortresses were at that time defended by such numbers of Egyptian troops as could have stopped the progress of the Children of Israel, this might well explain the change, but there is another reason which appeals much more strongly to those who are familiar with the land and the difficulties, and which at this particular season (April) would send the Children of Israel by the southern and longer road. The route directly across the desert, favored by the upholders of the Sinai-Midianite hypothesis, is a possible route in the winter or rainy season, but in the spring, summer and autumn is physically impossible for anything but the swiftest dromedaries. This stubborn fact is matched by half a dozen other routes in this section of the country which are available in the winter seasons when there is rain and a certain amount of grass in the deserts, but which are always abandoned for longer routes in every other season of the year.

This change then led them immediately into what is known as the desert, a stretch of country which was desert then and which is desert at this present hour.

We have then, in general outlines, everything required by the Bible record, and the next great feature is the crossing of the sea. Many suggestions have been made as to the possible location which involved unverified theories concerning possible geological and geographical changes since the days of the Exodus. Dismissing all but the most reasonable, they are reduced to one or two possibilities. The so-called Bitter Lakes, which were refilled with seawater at the making of the Suez Canal, had been undoubtedly a dry cavity for many centuries, how many it is very difficult to say. If they contained water at the time of the Exodus, then it is possible that the "crossing of the sea" might have taken place at the southern end of these lakes, because the Biblical conditions of the winds could have

been applied to this inland sheet, but it is much more probable that the crossing of the sea took place somewhere among the flats about the present city of Suez.

The distance from Raamses to the Gulf of Suez is from thirty to thirty-five miles, and this could easily have been accomplished in the time specified in the Biblical account as three days, though we must carefully guard ourselves from thinking of the various stages in Israel's itinerary as being each simply a day's journey. This is an idea that has been read into the Bible by those who have had no experience in travelling the route of the present day. The larger stations are always fixed by the presence of water, and the distance between them frequently divided into smaller stages where a rest of a few hours may be taken by a caravan, either with or without water. It is much more probable that the crossing was concerned with one of the many arms of the bay, which reach far in among the sands and swampy districts of the region. This veering southward toward the gulf instead of entering the desert where the fortresses stood, or across the neck of sand which must have stretched between the Bitter Lakes and the gulf, supposing the lakes then to have been filled with water, is the only explanation of the Egyptian theory that the Israelites were lost in that country or caught where there was no possible way of getting out.

It ought to be well known by this time that in the vicinity of Suez among the many arms of the sea are extensive shoals which are bare at low water and covered when the tide is in. There are other places which are covered by the sea in winter at the time of the heavy storms, but also bare and dry all through the long summer. On both sides of the city of Suez, itself, are arms of the sea, one of which is fully two-thirds of a mile wide, and if crossed obliquely toward the desert it would mean a distance of three or four miles from shore to shore. This and many other such places would satisfy all the condi-

tions of the case. The winds from the east and the winds from the southeast and the winds from the south from year to year work a phenomenon in these bays, with their various slopes and inclines, which continue to surprise even those who have spent all their years in this region. The miracle for the Children of Israel as well as for all believers in the providential care of God was easily wrought by natural means supernaturally applied. None of the miracles on this passage through the desert were wrought against nature or against reason; their supernatural character consists in their fitness to the desperate needs of the Children of Israel as they journeyed.

After they crossed the sea the next striking feature of the journey is the "three days into the desert" in and about the district of Suez. There is no mention in the Bible of the lack of sweet water, and the fountains and wells within three or four miles of that city are in use till the present day, and among them are the Springs of Moses already referred to. But beyond the Springs of Moses there is a desert stretch of three days' journey, which is as marked a feature to any one journeying in that land as the crossing of the Hudson for any one moving westward from the city of New York, or the crossing of the Thames to any one journeying southward from the city of London.

It is one of the stubborn unchangeable natural features of the land which neither imagination nor argument nor theory nor hypothesis can change. Wells dug at great expense in the desert country may be filled with shifting sands and lost for ever, although this is improbable because the memory or tradition concerning a well, being the most important fact concerning a waterless district, might well be handed down for hundreds of years, as in many cases, and the well again recovered. But real fountains of living water are seldom, if ever, lost in any land, and this three days' stretch on this ancient road was

known and spoken of in the days of the Exodus exactly as it is spoken of in the journeys of to-day. The camel, the Bedawy and the sand are exactly the same as they were 3200 years ago.

Somewhere near the southern extremity of this dry stretch of three days' journey was the little bitter fountain of Marah, and the same little stream with its bitter water still forces its way up through the drifting sands. Just beyond it lies Elim, which in those days as in ours marks the completion of this dry and thirsty three days' stretch, and is the first place where there was any sweet water for the Children of Israel after the passing of the sea. Even if there were no visible water and no wells and no palm trees at this present time, those who live in this country and who journey across those scorching sands instinctively pitch their tents in this winding valley and search for water by digging in its sands. But there is no need of doubt or uncertainty, because the same fountains which filled the twelve wells for the Children of Israel still force their way at many points through the same shifting sands, and appear as we saw them, in pools and running streams, and while the living palm trees and other vegetation existing in the days of the Children of Israel may have been wiped out of existence a dozen times by flood and other calamity, yet the seeds and the roots have fought a gallant fight against all their natural enemies, and the vale is still one of the most beautiful in all Sinai. Why men and students should go roaming through every conceivable hypothesis and theory, sitting thousands of miles away in space and two or three thousand years away in time, in order to upset and overturn this record of the Route, when a single journey through that country with intelligent observation should settle the problem for ever, is more than I can understand. The Land of Goshen is identified, the sites of the two ancient cities, the starting-places, the stretch of desert, the arms of the sea, the same sands, the same

swamps, the same winds, furnishing every condition required for the narrative.

Then the three days' stretch through the wilderness to the first stopping-place where sweet water abounded is as fixed and as rigid as any other feature of our earth. And this is followed by features which are just as stubborn and real as all that have preceded. A fairly long day's journey carried the Children of Israel once again to the seashore and beyond into the everlasting mountains among whose peaks lay Horeb or the Mount of God, about which they tarried for nearly a year.

The absence or presence of water and these eight facts—the Land of Goshen; the identification of the starting-point at Pithom and Raamses; the stretch of desert; the arm or arms of the sea where the winds still battle with the troubled waters; the waterless stretch of three days' journey; the wells and palm trees at what must be Elim; another camp by the shore of the sea; and then the journey upward into the granite mountains—are facts that cannot be argued or explained away or disposed of by theories, and which looked at fairly must fix for ever the absolute identification of this first section of the Route and the traditional location of Sinai within the peninsula. The route fits the documents as the key fits the lock, and the documents will not fit any other route that has ever been explored or suggested.

I shall point out later the fact that the tabernacle reared in Sinai was constructed of materials carried from Egypt, and the only wood and the only skins that are found and used in the peninsula to this present day.

CHAPTER IX

FROM ELIM TO MAGHAREH

AFTER the rest of the Sabbath our camp was awakened at an early hour, and by 8 A. M. (February 22d) we had started on the next stage of our journey. We left the Vale of Elim by a little side valley, and after about an hour reached one of those curious little landmarks of the desert. It consists of a heap of stones to which every passing Arab adds a pebble, accompanied by a curse and some expression of contempt or shame. The name of the locality is Hosan abu Zena (Zenneh). The story goes that a certain Abu Zena spurred his horse to death at this point, and that this heap of stones and dust has been raised as a shame mark to his memory. Some of the Arabs, instead of throwing stones, stir up the dust with their feet and cry, "Shame upon Abu Zena!"

Another story, however, is told, according to which it is said that the heap marks the grave of a Jew who was murdered and buried there. Some enterprising archæologist, careless of the feelings or superstitions of the Arabs, may one of these days turn the heap over and add another tradition to the spot.

In this same region our camel drivers led us aside with great mystery and showed us a series of little holes burrowed in the soft rock forming a square 5×5 ; holes which, in some places, are also accompanied by other marks that are probably tribe marks. These little holes are the board on which the Arabs play a game with pebbles called *sigah*.

Nothing is too small to escape notice in the desert, and not far away from this same region are two other heaps of

stones, each about 3 feet across and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and about 50 feet apart. They are apparently kept in their present shape by human hands. Around each heap is a little trench in the sand, and another long trench joining the two heaps, making a combination which must be noticed by every passer-by. Every wind that sweeps through the little valley during all the seasons of the year must erase and fill in this little trench, but from year to year the hands of these passing Arabs renew the trenches, but what their superstition or belief or purpose may be no one seems to know. Travellers fifty years ago noticed these same heaps and the long trench. Some one has said concerning these heaps that a Bedawy had killed an enemy at one heap and then ran on and succeeded in killing another man at the other heap, but this is a rather senseless sort of explanation. Beyond the heap of Abu Zena lies the wild tableland which is made of a nummulitic limestone and is called El Karkah.

Beyond this tableland we descended into Wady Useyt. Here again are palm trees and tamarisk, with sometimes a little brackish stream. A branch valley leads to an open plain over which we journeyed for fully two hours with almost nothing to break the monotony. The little dips are all honored with names, even where there is absolutely nothing to distinguish one valley from the other. Just after leaving Wady Et-hal we passed a curious wayside shrine among some muddy looking hills. A wooden stick about the size and shape of a heavy cane has been driven into the loamy soil and is decorated with varicolored rags, each of which marks the registration of a vow by a passer-by. Some say it is the tomb of a sheikh, and others that it marks the capture of a husband who fled away with his bride to avoid some tribal difficulties. It is called Oreis et Temmam.

Our road lay from Wady Shebeikeh to Wady el Homr and into the head of Wady Tayyibeh. At this point the

road to Sinai forks, and those who wish to journey *via* Sarbut must ascend the valley to the left. Our route lay down the Wady Tayyibeh. Older travellers mention several tiny springs of bad water and a few palm trees at this point. At the present time as many as seventy palm trees can be counted with tamarisks and a considerable undergrowth, so that it would seem that the palm trees are on the increase. Two miles below this little patch of desert verdure the valley is all dry and bare again, the little stream of brackish water having disappeared completely in the gravel beds which are more abundant in this valley than elsewhere. At several points in this well-known valley, Wady Tayyibeh, the cliffs on either side are sublime and the slope toward the sea is almost imperceptible. In some places the valley widens out until it is 500 or 600 yards across, with a floor smooth as that of a race-course. One continually gets whiffs of sea air as it sweeps through what in places is almost a canyon. At least a dozen times we expected to get a glimpse of the sea at a turn in the valley, and at least a dozen times our expectation was disappointed, the valley stretching farther and farther beyond.

It was down this valley that the Children of Israel journeyed to their "encampment by the sea," and it was at the doorway of this valley finally, at sunset in a beautiful spot, we pitched our tents for the night. According to the Bible story it was along this shore where the first miracle of the quails took place in the feeding of the Children of Israel. The second took place exactly a year later beyond Sinai (see Chapter XXIV). This event we had forgotten at the moment, but before we struck camp the next day our attention was directed to this fact by two rather interesting occurrences. A little way above the camp in the valley itself, at the base of a tall cliff, was a little brackish pool toward which we directed our camels with the thought that perhaps their increasing thirst might

induce them to drink. While examining the rocks above the little pool, with our camels resting near by, one of our cameleers suddenly ran toward a slope some thirty yards away, and, after a series of eccentric dashes to and fro which we were at a loss to understand, he returned with joy in his face and actions, and revealed to us the fact that he had succeeded in catching a live quail.

About three hours after midnight our camp was awakened by the lurching and swaying of our tents, which had been struck by a sudden gust of wind. Everybody was awake, but before any precautions could be taken the tent in which Dr. Goucher and Mr. Taylor were sleeping was lifted completely into the air and dropped back a shapeless mass on them as they still rested on their camp bedsteads. Everybody turned out, and in the course of less than an hour everything was again in shape with the loss of nothing except a single towel, which apparently mounted into the sky on a little whirlwind and sailed away to parts unknown. These two occurrences, however, called our attention to the miracle of the quails, and at the very point where such a crossing of the sea would naturally take place, and the quails, weary in their flight, would be caught by the cross breezes drawing, like a chimney blast, up through this winding valley toward the hot plateaus above.

Quails abound in Arabia, Egypt and North Africa, and are well known as migratory birds. They make their way northward in the beginning of March and southward again in November. They not only cross the Arabian Desert and arms of the sea, but also the Mediterranean itself at its narrowest parts, as that between Africa and Malta, Sicily and the Greek Islands. They always fly at night and with the wind, and their arrival is heralded by their peculiar call, which is heard early in the morning and at sunset. No doubt many perish in this passage over the sea and those which arrive safe are always excessively fatigued. Quails are mentioned twice in connection with

the wanderings of the Children of Israel, and it is certain that the first mention of Exodus 16: 13 occurred exactly at this point. The Israelites left Egypt in April and it would be about this time that these migratory birds would be making their spring crossing into the peninsula. The sea wind would bring them in enormous numbers to the camp of the Israelites. A year later Numbers 11: 31 tells us that "there went forth a wind from the Lord and brought quails from the sea and let them fall over the camp about a day's journey on the other side round about the camp and two cubits above the face of the earth," and this is exactly what might happen at this very point in the doorway of Wady Tayyibeh,¹ which is considerably more than a mile across. The miracle consisted in their being directed at the right time and place to supply the great need of the Children of Israel. Other travellers have marked this same occurrence in that region, and perhaps the only misconception remaining concerning quails is one that has been read *into* the Bible, according to which they lay two cubits deep above the face of the earth, whereas the simple meaning easily known from the habits of the birds under similar circumstances is that in their weariness they were not able to rise in their flight more than two cubits above the face of the earth, and so were as easily caught by the Children of Israel as the living quail was caught before our eyes by the Bedawy, and for exactly the same reason.

This incident of the wind in the night and the wearied quail is one of the many striking incidents which come under the eye of the careful observer. The doorway of this Wady Tayyibeh is one through which the rains and floods of all ages have poured their volume of water, which has deposited its burden of sand and rubbish and rocks in the shape of a cape or point extending far into the sea. Combined with the winds from the sea which whistle back

¹ Or Hanak el-Lagm, see Fig. 12, facing p. 112.

through the deeply eroded valley, this cape forms a natural crossing place for migratory birds. It is one of nature's ferries over this arm of the sea, and the Bible narrative again receives confirmation at a point where all the conditions unite in providing the natural theater for this miraculous feeding of the hungry multitude.

Our camp was pitched in the doorway of the valley and the seashore seemed a short distance away, so we proposed to have a swim in the sea before dinner. Starting across this apparently insignificant strip of sand we soon realized how deceptive distances can be in this desert atmosphere. We had not gone far before we noticed near the seashore what appeared to be a couple of gazelles. We immediately separated and tried to approach them by means of two small gullies, in which, by creeping, we were safe from observation. After we had gone what seemed four times as far as was necessary, we rose up from the valleys in order to have a shot, even at long distance, at the gazelles, and, to our great surprise, they turned out to be camels and were still at least half a mile away. Having made up our minds to have a bath in the sea, we kept on, and found that what was apparently a few hundred yards of sand, easily stretched out to a mile and a quarter. We were well repaid, however, after the heat of the day by the privilege of swimming in this beautiful clear water. The only signs of life other than the camels was a simple snipe-like bird that played in the shallow water on the sand bars. It was, however, so wild that it was almost impossible to come within shooting distance.

It was while coming down this Wady Tayyibeh, completely cut off from every possibility of tidings or interruptions from this modern world and living in the spirit and within the bounds of the Old Testament, that the title of this book, "From the Nile to Nebo," came into my mind.

Tuesday, February 23d, was among the most beautiful days of our trip. Our route lay for fully five hours along

the shore of the Red Sea. Opposite us, on the African coast, was a lighthouse and behind it the Plain of Muhair. An hour and a half from camp we were opposite the cape Ras Abu Zenimeh, on which stands the tomb of that worthy saint. Beside it is a large well-built caravansary which was erected in recent years by the Egyptian Government. Abu Zenimeh is most likely a patron saint of the fishermen and mariners, though the Arabs who pass on their "ships of the desert" also make offerings of candles and rice.

Not far beyond the tomb the headland, which bears the name of the saint, pushes down into the sea and leaves no space for even a camel track. A passage is found, however, which climbs up over a low foot cliff some sixty feet above the water, while flanking it on the left towers a glaring white face of limestone some six hundred feet high. Mariners know these as the cliffs of el Munkheiyeh, whose extraordinary regularity of strata of harder and softer stone appear exactly like some great ruined building.

While our caravan was swinging round the last shoulder of the cliff, unwillingly dipping their feet in the breaking waves, grumbling at their drivers and bumping their burdens against the overhanging rock, I caught them in the view (Fig. 9) entitled "Afraid of wetting their feet."

Just beyond this point the road again leaves the sea and enters the wide plain of el Markha. This plain has rightly been identified as the Wilderness of Sin. Exodus 16: 1 places it between Elim and Sinai, and 17: 1 mentions an encampment at Rephidim between the Wilderness of Sin and the Wilderness of Sinai. It is an open plain three or four miles wide and ten miles long, almost destitute of any signs of vegetable life, with streaks of black sand and strewn with blocks of "grey granite, feldspar, black quartz-ozite rock and basalt, which have been swept down from the inland mountains in the pluvial age."¹ We crossed it

¹ "P. R. S.," p. 18.



“Afraid of Wetting their Feet”
Away from the Sea into the Wilderness of Sin

diagonally about due east and from the point in the photograph (Fig. 10) "Away from the Sea into the Wilderness of Sin" to the "Gateway at Hanak el Lagm" (Fig. 12) is a distance of more than five miles. The dreary character of the plain can be guessed from the photograph (Fig. 11) entitled "Our Caravan crossing the Wilderness of Sin." This view also gives a good idea of the network of paths which characterize the route in the open desert.

Here in this wilderness (Exodus 16) the Children of Israel began their murmuring. Smitten by hunger, they longed for the flesh-pots of Egypt and wished they had died there rather than perish of hunger in this wilderness. Then came that dispensation of *God's* special care in the gift of the quails and the gift of the manna. And here we may as well face another of the minor problems of the Exodus, but which in so many minds and discussions has usurped the place of the major problem.

I am a firm believer in Divine Providence, and reject absolutely the blind chance theory of the universe or that we are helpless automata. I can see incontrovertible evidence of God's care in the coincidences of these wonderful events, with the desperate needs of the Children of Israel. But while these facts will stand as long as the granite cliffs of Sinai, I do not see any objection to modifying our childish conception of them.

There are three incidents related as occurring between Egypt and the Wilderness of Sin—the sweetening of the waters, the gift of the quails, the gift of manna, and whatever word we may apply to them, at least two of them certainly have their basis in "natural" facts. It is not at all inconceivable that we may yet find some "tree" which cast into Marah's bitter waters may make them sweet. The "natural" element in connection with the quails has already been referred to, but as yet we have no "natural" clue to the manna.

According to the Bible, "manna was a substance which

fell along with the dew and was rained around the Hebrew camp during the forty years of their wilderness life. It was in flakes or small round grains like hoarfrost, white in appearance like coriander seed or bdellium, and in taste was like thin flour cakes with honey or like fresh oil (Ex. 16: 14, 15: 31; Num. 11: 7, 8). It was gathered every morning, except on Sabbath, and a double portion on Friday morning. If kept overnight it became corrupt and bred worms, except on the Sabbath day. The supply continued until they came to a land inhabited, to the borders of Canaan (Ex. 16: 36), or until they reached Gilgal in the plain of Jericho and ate the old corn of the land (Joshua 5: 12). During this time it was the chief part of their diet, but not their only food (Lev. 8: 2, 26, 31, 9: 4, 10: 12; Num. 7: 13; Deut. 2: 6), etc.”¹

Other Bible references in the Old and New Testaments make a spiritual use of the manna, and under them all is the conception which we call “miraculous.”

Now, there is a sweet semi-liquid substance, called mann-er-sema (heavenly manna), which exudes in drops from the tarfa tree when it is punctured by an insect. This is still collected by the Arabs in the desert and sold to the pilgrims. A second and a third sort is yielded by other plants in and about Arabia, and stories of manna found in open places, not dropping from plants, are also told. But taking the Bible literally, none of these could be the manna of the Exodus, because they can keep indefinitely and could not be cooked as the manna was.

Moreover, supposing this was the manna that the Children of Israel ate, all the trees of the peninsula would hardly produce a dozen camel loads, whereas the needs of the greatly reduced numbers of the Israelites preclude the possibility of their being sustained in this way during the forty years. Nor can it be supposed that the vegetation of those days greatly exceeded that of the present, because,

¹ “H. D. B.,” p. 236.



Our Caravan Crossing the Wilderness of Sin
Gateway from the Wilderness into the Mountains at Hanak el Lagm

as we shall see in another connection (Chapter XXII), this supposition is effectually ruled out. And whereas, before I visited the peninsula and other portions of the Arabian desert, I may have had hazy ideas of the *need* of some mysterious supply of daily food, I am now clearly persuaded that the Israelites could not have lived a week in that land without sustenance from above, and I humbly bowed my head a hundred times to the Bible statement, call it miracle, supernatural, co-natural, non-natural, that God alone could have sustained them by other than the ordinary course of nature.

The moment one enters the plain of el Markha, his attention is attracted and held by the very conspicuous notch in the mountains on the east side of the plain, called Hanak el-Lagm. Immediately to the right and south of it, the steep mountain slope is marked by a large black patch, which on examination proves to be a great mass of slag which has been thrown out of the copper mining furnaces of antiquity, and may have been there when the Children of Israel passed this way. This natural gateway introduces us to the mountainous region of the peninsula, and at once suggests the mining enterprises of the most remote past. A curious fact in connection with these slag heaps, which contain traces of copper, is that the furnaces or, rather, the remains of the natural furnaces visible, are at the foot of the hill and the slag heaps are found on the spurs higher up. The remains of the furnaces is a heap of calcined and broken granite blocks, about 15 feet across and 5 feet high, but more of this later.

Passing through the gateway Hanak el-Lagm (110 meters, 361 feet) we enter the valley of Wady Baba, which at this point and for a couple of miles is called Seih Baba, a word used to designate a very broad section in contrast to the gorge above. The Seih Baba is really a great amphitheater sweeping gently upward to cliff-like masses of granite mountains, which apparently bar all further progress.

Up this magnificent slope we moved, deeply impressed by the growing grandeur of the views in every direction. As we came nearer to the rugged and vari-colored cliffs and mountain masses, two valleys appeared, opening one on the right to the south and one on the left toward the northeast. This latter valley is the Wady Baba, which extends its winding course upward to the great district of Sarbut el Jemel, where the famous religious remains of the peninsula are found; while the valley to the right leads to the mountain district. Hence this gateway and magnificent amphitheater within it, combined with the landing place on the seashore across the plain, was for thousands of years the natural entrance to the religious and mining districts of Sinai. Our road lay up and through the valley to the right, which bears the name of Wady Shellal, "the valley of the cascades" or "waterfalls." Why or how it ever acquired such a name it is difficult to understand. There certainly are no waterfalls, nor any traditions of such, neither are there any steep watercourses which might justify this name. There are, however, traces of underground moisture, as proved by the existence of a number of fine acacias. It is not improbable that shallow wells dug in these beds of sand and gravel might result in finding water. After about half an hour's journey in the Wady Shellal, we entered the still more impressive gorge of Wady Buderah and, after another hour, pitched our tents for the night in a fine secluded corner for camping, just below the pass called Nagb el Buderah, or "the pass of the sword's point."

This was another dry camp, with absolutely no water of any kind for either man or beast. Our barometers registered 290 meters at our tents. The stillness and absolute solitude of this spot, amid the mountains crumbling under the action of sun and wind and beautifully colored by the rays of the setting sun, represents a scene in our memories that can never fade. To cross Nagb el Buderah,

or Pass, is a steep climb zigzagging among massive boulders of granite and requiring fully twenty minutes to surmount. The present track, with here and there bits of retaining walls, is said to be the work of Major MacDonald in 1863. There must have been a better road here in ancient times, although we could detect no traces of it. If the Children of Israel passed this way, rather than around through Wady Baba to Sarbut el Jemel, then this pass would have an important bearing upon the question of the numbers of the Children of Israel. A slight mathematical calculation would quickly prove that three millions of people could not have passed up and over this notch within any reasonable section of the time consumed between Egypt and Sinai, which, according to the Bible, was about two months. Our barometers at the top of the Pass registered 310 meters, but Petrie¹ makes it 1263 feet.

From the top of the Pass there are extensive and beautiful views both backward and forward. The backward view gives a glimpse of the sea in the distance, and beyond it, northward, of the Ras Abu Zenimeh and the mountain of Pharaoh's bath. The Arabs seem to be somewhat uncertain as to whether the Wady el Buderah lies north or south of the Pass, but beyond the Pass the shallow valley contains the ancient road, which through the ages has been cut by myriad feet of man and beast into a deeply marked passage way. This shallow valley slopes into the Seih Sidreh, a beautiful winding valley, which twists sharply about between the granite cliffs hundreds of feet high. "At one point a dyke of red porphyry about five feet thick has filled an immense fissure in the granite . . . and in another place the sandstone is seen bedded against another great cliff face of granite." After passing the valley called Imm Temam, a short ride brought us to Wady Igna, opposite the mouth of which is the tomb of one Sheikh Suleiman; turning into Wady Igna, another five minutes brought us to the famous mines of Maghareh.

¹ "P. R. S.," p. 19.

CHAPTER X

THE TURQUOISE MINES OF SINAI

THE turquoise mines of Maghareh and Serabîr owe their origin to primitive man's love of precious stones, because these mines, as far as we can judge, are the only cause of man having originally visited or having dwelt in these regions. Who first discovered the existence of turquoise in Sinai can never be known, but upon that discovery hangs more than one fascinating chapter of human history. Two cardinal facts concern us. These turquoise mines were worked, according to the revised chronology, for over 3500 years before the Exodus, they were worked during the Exodus, they were worked immediately after the Exodus and then left untouched for almost another 3000 years. This is the first cardinal fact. The second is that while these miners toiled and searched for precious stones, they left for us treasures infinitely more valuable than all they ever carried away.

Turquoise, in plain language, is an opaque blue or greenish-blue precious stone; defined scientifically it is "a hydrous phosphate of alumina stained with phosphate of iron (blue) and copper (green) in mixed proportions, and it was probably derived from the phosphorus of the same organism that caused the deposit of the iron stratum," underneath which it is usually found in the mines of Sinai. The true Oriental turquoise, a favorite ornamental stone in rings and other articles of jewelry, at present found largely in mountain regions in Persia, was originally brought into Western Europe by way of Turkey, hence its name turquoise, by which we know it. The word

“turquoise” is a corruption of “Turkish,” because coming by way of Turkey it was originally called a Turkish stone, or because Turkish at that time signified, in a general way, Asiatic.

Another variety of turquoise is found in Mexico, where it is usually of a greenish-blue color, and, like the turquoise of Sinai, it attracted the attention of the Indians who mined it in the earliest times. It is only in recent years that its old Egyptian name *Mafkat* has been recovered, and with the recovery of its ancient name has come another chapter of interesting ancient history. The *Mafkat* from Sinai appears in the form of beads in some Egyptian tombs of the predynastic age, and the supposition is that it was obtained from Syrian and Bedawin miners before the Egyptian Government sent convict slave gangs to this deadly oven of Sinai. It was freely used at the beginning of the I Dynasty, and is found in all the four bracelets from the tomb of King Zer. There is an ancient story of an Egyptian named Sneferu and a magician Zezemankh, in which a precious jewel was lost. This jewel was *Mafkat*, and we know that *Mafkat* was turquoise.

There are eight places in the ancient mountain, all within a circle of thirty miles, where the miners searched for this precious stone. The two most important, and which are destined to become more famous than ever because connected with the Bible, are at Maghareh and Serabât, about twelve miles apart by air line, but two days by camel track. The mines at Maghareh are several centuries older than those at Serabât, and have given us one of the most important series of Egyptian inscriptions that are known, while the mines at Serabât, in addition to a wealth of inscriptions concerning the mining expeditions of the Egyptians, have given us a new Semitic ritual earlier than any yet known in Syria and Arabia, and a written language peculiar to this region some centuries earlier than the Exodus. For the sake of convenience I

shall discuss a number of important matters in connection with the Mines at Maghareh, and leave the fascinating religious and linguistic items to a separate chapter on Serabât.

Wady Maghareh, the "valley of the caves," is named from the many ancient cave-like mines which occupy one of its sides. The valley is almost completely surrounded by the rugged mountains of granite. The floor of the valley is about 1000 feet above the level of the sea, and slopes generally northward to the base of the great peak Tartir ed Dhami, which rises sheer for 2000 feet (Fig. 13), the highest peak of which is 3531 feet above the sea. The second view of the valley (Fig. 14) gives a glimpse of the mountain view eastward. The whole valley is destitute of vegetation except a few straggling side trees which are visible in the pictures. It is from every direction a scene of impressive, awful desolation, which in the heat of summer becomes a granite cauldron without a drop of water or a suggestion of moisture. The trained imagination of the geologist pictures the remote past when there were thousands of feet more of granite covering what is now "a rugged row of broken buttresses," which are what we know as the sublime peaks of modern Sinai. The next step in the history of the region was when it sank below the waves of the sea, and hundreds of feet of sandstone were deposited above the granite; traces of this are still found on the tops of granite peaks. A unique specimen of these is visible in the upper photo in the shape of a small cone, which gives its name Tartir, "a conical cap," to the mountain. Then came the great uplift of the central table of granite, cracking and splitting the sandstone stratum, followed by ages of denudation by sun, wind and water, which partially filled the bed of the sea on either side of the peninsula, and poured its mass of many colored sands into the rifts and bays of what is now the Jordan Valley, where, at another point on the route



Maghareh—et Tartír ed Dhami—a striking peak north of the mines
Maghareh—Mountain view eastward

of the Exodus, we find the brilliant rainbow hues of the rocks in Petra.

Among the granite peaks of Sinai are still found pockets of this ancient sandstone, which were left like standing pools of water among the rugged valleys of the granite. The sandstone rocks of Maghareh are one of these ancient remains lying between granite ranges on the north and on the south. The extreme width is little more than three miles and the length perhaps not more than six. Judged by some indications at Serabît it has been conjectured that the depth of the sandstone below the valley floor is perhaps 800 feet. The thickness of the sandstone above is easily measured. At a level of 170 feet above the floor of the valley, that is, 1170 feet above sea-level, there is a thin ferruginous stratum, and above this another stratum of brighter colored sandstone 430 feet thick, making 500 feet of sandstone visible, and if the 800 feet assumed thickness below is correct, then the sandstone at Maghareh is a layer 1300 feet thick. Now the turquoise is found just below the ferruginous stratum referred to, which separates this upper from the lower sandstone stratum. All the mines are found at this elevation of about 170 feet above the floor of the valley, and the burrowings which follow this turquoise-bearing stratum assume the appearance of caves which, in these modern times, have given their name to the valley. A glance at the views in Figures 15 and 16 will make this perfectly clear. In the upper view are the remains of two ancient mines on the opposite sides of the shoulder of the mountain. The lower view is also an ancient mine, but one in which the Bedawin still search and dig and even blast in search of bits of turquoise. These Bedawin follow and search the purple brown bands of the sandstone, since experience has shown them to be the most profitable. At Serabît the methods of mining were practically the same as at Maghareh, but with some variations, made necessary by the fact that this thin ferruginous

stratum which at Maghareh is 1170 feet above the sea, is at Serabît 1500 feet higher, and instead of lying between a higher and lower mass of sandstone at Serabît, this stratum is practically on the top of the hills, and the mining is carried on by means of perpendicular shafts as well as horizontal. One of the Serabît mines is a tunnel through the cliffs 220 feet long with air-shafts 10 feet square to the top of the cliff. Other tunnels inside the face of the cliffs possess openings for air and light. Because the ferruginous stratum referred to is everywhere a thin one, these galleries are rarely as much as 6 feet in height. One of the larger mines is a pit-like opening 50 feet across, extending into narrow galleries on all sides. In the vicinity there is abundant evidence on all the hill-tops, showing how the ancient Egyptians had worked in many places searching for the turquoise-bearing stratum.

The Bedawin in their search for the turquoise strive to reduce by blasting and pounding this ferruginous stratum to powder. When this is accomplished more or less successfully, they search for the little hard nodules smaller than a pigeon's egg, and these, in turn, are rubbed down and reduced to powder in order to find out whether they have a turquoise center. Sometimes the veins in which the turquoise are found occupy cracks or small pockets in the rock, and it is in hopes of striking such pockets and cracks they spend their days in crushing and pouring out the broken sandstone, which appears as a waterfall outside the cave in the lower picture. There is every reason to believe that this was practically the method of the ancient Egyptian miners, that is, the crushing of the turquoise-bearing sandstone, but the ancient Egyptian miners took no such risks as the Bedawin of to-day do when they destroy every means of support for the superimposed mass above the present cave-like openings.

Many readers at this point will be asking the question concerning the tools used by the ancient Egyptians. There



Maghareh—Ancient Turquoise Mines
Maghareh—One of the Mines recently worked

are a thousand marks in the galleries and mines which prove without a peradventure that they made use of metal tools and metal cutting instruments, which from their size and shape correspond very closely with the tools for similar purposes used in this land to-day. In the temple at Serabît two copper chisels have been found among the ashes and dust of a chamber which had apparently been used as a workshop. They are $6\frac{1}{2}$ and 7 inches long, and are probably of the same general shape and weight as many of those that were used in the mining. A photo of these chisels, together with a crucible for smelting copper, will be found in Petrie's "Researches in Sinai," p. 162. There is also evidence which justifies us in believing that they also made use of a sort of core drill, "in which a chisel cut ran round in a circle three or four inches across, and this suggests that the workmen were familiar with what we know as tube drills." And this leads us to another topic already referred to in the chapter on Chronology (see p. 75), which is this, the use of flint along with instruments made of copper or of iron. There is abundant evidence in every dump heap that the miners made extensive use of these ancient flint tools. A great number of these were gathered by Professor Petrie, and we, in the short space of time spent at the mines, succeeded in finding a number of excellent specimens. Professor Petrie gives photographs of small flint cutting instruments which he labels as stone vase grinders, which from their shape and size might easily be the tool referred to as a core drill. Other flint tools, from the smallest, finest cutting edges, through every type of pick, hatchet and hammer, have been found.¹ These heavier hammer stones would be excellent tools for the crushing into powder of this more or less friable sandstone, and this discovery of flint tools opens up another fascinating chapter in connection with the flint tools of Egypt.

¹ "P. R. S.," p. 48.

A few years ago nothing was known of prehistoric Egypt beyond a few flint flakes upon the desert plateau. In 1895 nothing of real value was known, but in 1910 Egyptian prehistoric antiquities are almost as well known and as well represented in our museums as are the prehistoric antiquities of Europe and America. It comes, therefore, as another surprise to find that the art of flint knapping reached its zenith in ancient Egypt; the best flint knives, dating from before the time of the I Dynasty, are, without exception, the most remarkable stone weapons ever made in the world. There is one specimen¹ which has a handle covered with gold on which have been carved designs representing various animals, and we saw with the dealers in antiquities in Cairo more beautiful specimens of flint knives than the average reader can have any conception of. The use of these flint knives has a remarkable Bible reference in Exodus 4: 25, and Herodotus records the fact that an Ethiopian stone, which was no doubt a knife of flint or chert, was used in the sacred rite of embalming to make the first incision in the dead body. There is abundant evidence to show that flint tools and weapons were used from the I to the XII Dynasties. As far as can be ascertained at this time, the use of stone for tools or weapons ceased except in the act of embalming, as above referred to. Those who have studied these flint weapons agree that the finest specimens lie farthest back in time, and that the axe-heads and hammer-heads of the XI and XII Dynasties are in form imitations of the copper and bronze axe-heads in use at that time; in other words, they are stone imitations of metal, whereas the original metal instruments were actually modelled after the fashion of the stone.

While the old Egyptian mining expeditions began before the Exodus and continued during the Exodus, they came to an end about the time of the XII Dynasty, and this

¹ "E. and W. A.," p. 15.

means more than 3000 years ago. Nevertheless, these recent researches in Sinai have brought to light a series of inscriptions connected with the worship and Semitic ritual, to be dealt with later, which give us a marvelously complete picture of what these ancient mining expeditions were. Petrie has gathered from the sandstone steles about Serabît the records of at least fifteen different expeditions, and these may give many clues to the personnel and organization of these ancient mining projects. Reference has already been made to the fact that these ancient miners were largely composed of convicts who toiled in these hot valleys of Sinai under the lash. As a rule the expeditions left Egypt in November or December, and returned before the hottest weather came on. There is a record of one expedition which mentions the presence of 734 soldiers, who could easily have guarded three times that number of convicts.

Among the interesting facts concerning these expeditions are the following: Mention is made of a commander, a seal bearer, a chief of transport, a husband of the treasury (compare ship's husband), an elder of the treasury, scribes, guards of the storehouses, chief of the boats, now and then "a general," and in larger expeditions a "controller." Once there is mention of a chief physician having been taken along. Not all of these, of course, accompanied any one expedition, and the most complete period of records belongs to the XII Dynasty¹ (3459-3250 B. C. 1788-1579). In the days of the V Dynasty three "interpreters for the Prince," show that the Egyptian language was not understood by the Retennu or Aamu, nor was the Semitic language known by the upper class of

¹ The reader is reminded again at this point of the revision of Egyptian chronology proposed by Petrie on the basis of the extra Sothis period (see "P. R. S.," p. 165). According to this revision ordinary Egyptian dates beyond the 18th dynasty must be increased on an average of 1600 years, and in order to keep this clearly before our minds at this point, I shall insert the double date on either side of the symbols B. C.

Egyptians. During the XII Dynasty there were added inspectors, and as many as fifteen accompanied one expedition. They certainly employed Syrians among their extra workmen. In a long list of 100 foremen of miners, every tenth man was a chief foreman, a *mer sa*. Then there were "devisers of minerals" or prospectors, two of which were attached to expeditions which contained 300 and 450 men respectively. From other records in Egypt we learn that in the enormous expedition of Ramessu IV to Hammamat as many as 130 inspectors had charge of over 8000 men. There was also an official who gathered and guarded the turquoise when it was mined, and a sculptor, required, no doubt, to make use of his skill on the temple and the steles. His main function may have been to draw the figures on the walls, which another kind of sculptor or carver was employed to complete. In one of the temple rooms there still exists the drawing in red paint or chalk which had never been completed by the carver. Common laborers are recorded in different expeditions, 45 and 200 and 255 at different times. Forty-three peasants are named as having had charge of 500 asses. Apparently they dealt with the Bedawin (Retennu) through sheikhs, who were employed to keep them in order, which is exactly the method employed at this present day. The numbers of Aamu (Syrians) are also mentioned in various years, who also were dealt with through an overseer.

Present conditions, which certainly have not changed during these past 500 years, easily enable us to calculate the large number of men and animals which must have been employed in supplying these expeditions with food and water and other necessary articles from the coast, it being certain that Egyptian boats plied back and forth between the port of Suez and the Plain of el Markha, and the distance between the sea and the mines was covered by the use of men and animals. Petrie has estimated that

for every 500 men employed in the mining process, at least 500 asses would be necessary, 250 to bring the food supply from the sea, another 200 for bringing water and at least 50 to provide a margin for delay and sickness. The preparation of the record of these expeditions, each on a great stele of sandstone, must have involved great labor and special care. The existing steles surely entailed several weeks of labor. The chief of the party was ordinarily the main person mentioned, but in most cases the whole staff are entered in their order of superiority. It is possible that these great records, still standing almost unchanged after 5000 years, were erected after a high official had left; then came the lower workmen, the Syrian miners, strangers who scribbled in their names on the blank ends and the margins, and thereby hangs another tale.

By far the most important objects for us at Maghareh are the sculptures¹ on the rocks above the mines. At Serabit all the inscriptions and steles are connected with the temple and shrine of Hat-hor, "the Mistress of Turquoise." At Maghareh, however, for reasons imperfectly understood, there was a careful cutting and dating of tablets on the rocks at the mines themselves, which define for us the history of the mining and cast most interesting side lights on a dozen other lines of research.

The earliest signs in Egypt of intercourse between that country and Sinai are the turquoise beads found in some prehistoric graves and in great abundance about the time of the I Dynasty. The earliest trace of Egypt in Sinai is a rock sculpture (Fig. 17), on the natural face of the smooth upper sandstone, of an Egyptian king smiting a chief of the Bedawin. This king, pictured three times over, has easily been identified as Semerkhet, the seventh king of the I Dynasty, and his date about 5300 B. C. 3200. One of the most remarkable facts noted in connection with this rock sculpture is that it does not show the least weathering,

¹ "P. R. S.," pp. 40-45.

“ the original face does not seem to have lost even a single coat of sand grains.” The bearing of this fact upon the matter of the rainfall will be referred to many times.

The next monument in point of age is the carved face and inscription of Sa-nekht, the founder of the III Dynasty, about 4950 B. C. 2980, which furnishes an Ethiopian type and suggests new problems concerning the origin of that dynasty. Then follow carvings and inscriptions of the III, V and XII Dynasties, all of which give more or less information which has been carefully gathered.

Here should have followed an account of some twenty or thirty other sculptures and inscriptions, but instead we can record only two melancholy stories. Twice at least in modern times have these turquoise mines been exploited by foreigners, not to mention the continued efforts of the Bedawin, who still dig, and blast, and search in a primitive way for bits of green stone which they offer for sale in Suez and Cairo. About 1845 a Scotchman, named Major Macdonald, visited these ancient mines, and, inspired by the best traditions of his craft, returned with his wife in 1854 and settled down to search for turquoise. For fully twelve years he persevered in his lonely task, and went sadly away. Again he returned and lived a year at Serabât, and again he retreated in defeat to Cairo, where he died in 1870, a ruined and disappointed man. But he has left for himself a worthy monument in a great collection of squeezes at the British Museum, which reveal to investigators the many inscriptions existing at Maghareh in his day. Palmer visited him in 1869, and gives an account of his home and hopes at that time. The remains of Major Macdonald's house still exist, the pathetic memorial of a disappointed hope.

Somewhere about 1900 another mining company was formed, with English shareholders, and entered the valley to wrest from grim nature further treasures of turquoise. I have been unable to find any one who had personal knowl-

edge of this venture, but "everything gave way to the greed for dividends, with the result that the promoters lost their money, the natives lost their turquoises and the world lost many of its most ancient monuments." Ignorant engineers and malicious workmen smashed, defaced, destroyed what was "in the European market of museums worth more than all the turquoises they extricated." To read the *list* of what has gone forever, as made from the squeezes of Major Macdonald and gathered from the writings of other explorers, is to increase our respect for the Goths, who protected and preserved the monuments of Rome, as compared with the wanton mischief of these dividend-hunting mining concerns.

Since the breaking of this mining bubble, the Minister of Public Works in Cairo employed Mr. C. T. Currelly to visit Maghareh with workmen and tools, and with great difficulty and expense he succeeded in getting down the different inscriptions from the faces of the cliffs and transported them to Cairo. This removes them forever from the possibility of further danger from ignorant Bedawin and rascally mining companies, and has placed them where thousands of scholars and travellers may gaze upon these oldest rock sculptures of the Egyptians in Sinai.

And, finally, the reader may ask, What is the special connection between the Exodus and the Mines of Maghareh?

(1) The objection that the Children of Israel could not have gone *via* Sinai because of soldiers and mining expeditions falls completely to the ground. The Children of Israel lived near the highroad from Egypt to the mines, and every man, woman and child in the country knew when an expedition was at Maghareh and when there was none. Certainly Moses, who had lived in Pharaoh's household forty years, would be thoroughly conversant with such matters.

(2) One recorded expedition in connection with a certain mine at Serabît took place in the earlier half of the XVIII Dynasty (1580-1322), say, about 1450-1460 B. C., and this brings it within fifteen or twenty years of the Exodus (1477-1447 B. C.). There is no evidence that the expeditions were yearly affairs, but plenty of evidence that periods of ten to a hundred years elapsed when no expedition seems to have gone at all.

(3) The latest steles are two that stand in connection with the temple, and, according to our date, they were erected 150 to 200 years after the Exodus took place, that of Ramessu II, whose date is 1300-1234 B. C., and of Set-nekht, about 1203 B. C.

(4) The Itinerary in Numbers 33 has every appearance of being taken from a regular pilgrim book of some kind. Granting that Sinai is the traditional location and that Rephidim is Feiran, then we must locate Dophkah somewhere in the vicinity of Maghareh, and here comes a little stroke of scientific imagination that I accept as heartily as other men have accepted brilliant guesses in astronomy which were afterward proved mathematically. I think this particular guess is a fine instance of picking up an ancient name. It can easily be understood that the name Wady Maghareh, "the valley of the caves," which is pure Arabic, has been given by those who saw the openings only and who possessed no clue to what had been taken from them. When some forty years ago the ancient Egyptian name for turquoise was discovered to be *mafkat*, or *maphkah*, as it might easily be written, Ebers at once made the suggestion, which was afterward reached independently by J. Rendel Harris, that perhaps the Bible name and station of Israel's itineracy (Numbers 33: 13), Dophkah, was a corruption of Mafkat or Maphkah by the erroneous transcription of a single letter, an *M* for a *D*. Those who know anything about the science of ancient Hebrew manuscripts will not tarry long at this emendation. That such a

well-known locality as these turquoise mines, which had been worked for thousands of years before the Exodus, was without its well-known name is inconceivable. What is more natural than that it should have been called Maphkah (Turquoise), since it had absolutely no other claim to human notice than its precious greenish-blue stone.¹

(5) I repeat that the stations of the whole itinerary of the Children of Israel was fixed by the existence of water, and there was water in those days at Dophkah. All modern expeditions to Maghareh drink from an ancient Egyptian well in the valley about two miles from the mines, to which a well-beaten path is visible at all times. This well or pit was sunk with great labor in the granite rock, and undoubtedly is the work of the early Egyptian miners. Therefore it was in existence when the Children of Israel made Dophkah a stopping-place more than a thousand years later.

¹ Compare Leadville, Silverton, Iron City, etc.

CHAPTER XI

THE BETHEL STONES, THE CAVE SHRINE AND THE TEMPLE OF SERABÎT

As one approaches the heights of Serabît through any of the rugged valleys leading upward, his attention is at once fixed by the numberless upright pillars of sandstone covering the hills in every direction, and increasing in numbers about what is known as the Cave Shrine and Temple of Serabît. These upright stones, which resemble in general appearance gravestones, are from 5 to 12 feet in height and are found to be covered on one or both sides with Egyptian inscriptions. A careful examination of their surroundings reveals a number of other interesting features. There are sections of the hill-tops where hundreds of smaller stones, from a few inches to two or three feet, are set up in the same way, revealing the action of human hands. They instantly suggest to the scholarly explorer the well-known system of sacred stones in Syria and Palestine, which have been set upright in adoration or in token of a pilgrimage. Absolutely unknown in Egypt, well known in Syria and countries farther east, this fact at once settles their Semitic origin. They have been aptly called Bethel stones, from Genesis 28:10-22, when Jacob "went out from Beer-sheba, . . . lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, . . . and he took one of the stones of the place, and put it under his head and dreamed, . . . and Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place, this is none other than the house of



The oldest Monument in Sinai—Scene of Semerkhet smiting the Bedawy Chief, I Dynasty
(Petrie, 5300 B. C.)

From "Researches in Sinai"

God and the very gate of heaven. And Jacob . . . took the stone that he had put under his head and set it up for a pillar and poured oil on the top of it, and he called the name of that place Bethel, that is, house of God." These rude stone monuments are undoubtedly of religious origin, whether they be "menhirs" or pillars, "dolmens" or stone tables, "cairns" or stone heaps, "cromlechs" or stone circles. Examples of all these are found in the Bible. The pillar which Jacob set up at Bethel (Genesis 28:12, 35:14) and at Mizpah (Genesis 31:45) are examples of the menhirs. In early Semitic religion these pillars were associated with the presence of a deity, and were smeared with blood or oil as an act of worship. Often these rude pillars served simply as a memorial (Joshua 24:26; 1 Sam. 7:12) or as a monument of the dead (1 Kings 23:17, R. V.; Ezekiel 39:12). In many instances the stone representing the deity served also as an altar, but in very early times the altar was separate, and might then be a natural rock or something artificially built of stone. In the latter case the stones were unhewn (Ex. 20:25; Deut. 27:5; Josh. 8:31), as also Elijah's altar on Carmel (1 Kings 8:31). A good example of the cromlech, or stone circle, with memorial significance is that set up by Joshua at Gilgal (Joshua 4). Inscriptions might be placed upon such monumental stones (Deut. 7:24), on altars (Josh. 8:32) or on stone tables, such as those on which the law was engraved.

Extensive and careful research among these Bethel stones of Sinai makes it absolutely sure that these inscribed Egyptian steles are descended from, and an adaptation of, the Semitic memorial stones of devotion. None of them are in any sense sepulchral. The next important point concerning these Bethel stones of Serabît is that many of them scattered over the hills are surrounded by circles of unhewn stones. Around the larger steles the circles are from 10 to 15 feet across, and in many instances smaller

additional circles exist, both outside and inside the main circles. These, again, have suggested other well-known facts connected with Semitic or other shrines, that is, the practice of sleeping in or near the temple and shrine of a god or goddess with the hope of some revelation from the deity or gift of healing or beneficial powers. So the simple and complete explanations of these Bethel stones and their surrounding circles, almost always in front of or in sight of the central shrine, is that they were used as sleeping-places of the worshippers at these shrines.¹

The cave shrine at Serabît brings us at once into contact with another Semitic idea unknown in Egypt, but well known in Syria and Palestine and all the adjacent Semitic lands, which is this, that every locality or district has its local deity, who must be worshipped according to his own ritual by all the dwellers of that vicinity who would escape the vengeance and win the blessings of that protecting deity.

Reference has already been made to the fact that Syrian or Semitic miners preceded the Egyptian in the occupation of Sinai, and these, engaged in the search for turquoise, recognized the rights of the goddess of those regions and erected a shrine to the "Mistress of Turquoise" long before the Egyptians appeared on the scene. When the Egyptians came they at once recognized the goddess of the region, and proceeded to worship her according to the customs or ritual of that place. They called her Hat-hor, or the "Mistress of the Waste." The name Hat-hor is one which the Egyptians used for all strange goddesses "as readily as the Italian worships his old goddesses as Madonnas of various places and qualities. Hat-hor was worshipped under twenty-four different names in Egypt at various places, and there is a list of different Hat-hors for each of the forty-two nomes of Egypt." In this case Hat-hor was the name of this strange goddess, but the

¹ Palmer mentions a ring of stones on top of Serbal, "P. D. E.," p. 151.



Figures of Sopdu and Amenemhat III (3303-3259 B. C., Petrie)—Shrine of Kings
From "Researches in Sinai"

shrine was that of "The Mistress of Turquoise." Now the greatest Semitic goddess was Ashtaroth or Ishtar, who, as goddess of the flocks and herds, was always represented as a horned goddess. Seeing that Hat-hor, the goddess of the Egyptians, was worshipped as a cow, the identification of the two in the Mistress of Turquoise was perfectly simple. Some have even claimed that Hat-hor, the Egyptian goddess shown in the form of a cow, originated in the Semitic goddess, whose symbols were horns at the side of her head. The fact is, therefore, perfectly plain that at this shrine in Sinai Egyptian religious customs came into contact with Semitic ideas and the ritual of Sinai. Then after two or three thousand years of worship at the primitive shrine, as we shall presently see, the Egyptians introduced side by side the worship of the God of the East (Fig. 18), who was called Sopdu.

While this cave shrine at Serabit was known to travellers fifty years ago, its meaning and importance was not even guessed at. Its exploration by Petrie some six years ago constitutes one of the most brilliant chapters in exploration. This cave shrine of the Mistress of Turquoise was in existence as early as the reign of Sneferu (4750 B. C. 2750). The shrine itself is a cave hollowed out from the solid sandstone, about 15 feet long and 12 feet wide, containing at present an altar stone and several empty niches. The oldest offering here which can be dated is a bit of fine gray marbly limestone, on which is carved life sized the hawk of Sneferu, the last king of the III Dynasty, whose date is 4750 B. C. 2750. Like many another ancient shrine, its development and improvement stretches through centuries. Perhaps in the early stages rude buildings were erected in front of the cave, but as far as the inscriptions, of which there are hundreds, give dates, the development of the temple as it grew outward from the door of the cave took place between 3450 and 1150 B. C., which means that this remarkably interesting temple was

built in part before, in part during, and in part after, the Exodus.

A glance at the photograph (Fig. 19) of a model of the Temple of Serabît, taken from the northwest, will give a clear idea of what I wish to say. On the top of the hill, as represented, are two steles, and below the temple are nine more, all of which are about 10 feet in height and covered with inscriptions of unique value. The cave itself is under the highest knoll on the left of the picture; immediately in front of it is a portico dating back to 3450 B. C., as is easily gathered from the steles and wall carvings existing. During a period of 2300 years from that date other builders from the XII to the XX Dynasty added sanctuaries, courts, and building after building until the temple extended eastward for a distance of 220 feet. Each additional room resulted in pushing the entrance to the shrine farther and farther away from the natural rock. The entrance at the extreme right of the picture, when the temple was abandoned about 1150 B. C., is guarded by two steles, that on the left of Ramessu II, 1300 to 1234 B. C., and that on the right, Set-nekht, 1203 B. C. Between this entrance and the middle of the cave are as many as seventeen distinct sections of the building, all of which contain steles or inscriptions which settle the date of their erection, and in many cases the names of those who made offerings to the Mistress of Turquoise. The general arrangement of the steles which have been recovered can be seen in these photographs of the model. It is beyond peradventure that the first fifteen sections or rooms of the temple, counting from the right, were all erected since the days of the Exodus. The high heavy wall beyond the fifteenth section is the pylon of what was originally the front of the temple of Thotmes III, whose date is 1481 to 1449 B. C., which brings it practically about the time of the Exodus. It is $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 13 feet high, 5 feet 8 in. thick and represents Thotmes III offering to Hat-hor, the



Model of the Temple of Serabit from the Northeast, showing Hatshepsut's Shrine of Kings
From "Researches in Sinai"

Mistress of Turquoise, accompanied by several of his higher officials. Beyond the pylon are two other sections, and a court before the outer sanctuary immediately adjacent to the court is reached, and to the right of the court begins a second series of rooms with their steles, altars and stone tanks, ending in the hall of Sopdu, the god of the East, the worship of whom was added to the shrine of the Mistress of Turquoise by the Egyptian queen Hatshepsut, whom we have already met (see pp. 82, 83) and agreed to identify as Pharaoh's daughter, the foster-mother of Moses, but more of this later.

Turning again to the root ideas of Semitic worship, which include the local deity or god of the land, the setting up of sacred stones which were anointed with oil or blood, which, as we shall see later, includes the idea of sacrifice and the custom of sleeping near or in the shrine of the god or goddess, we have a complete explanation of why this shrine was founded and the temple built, with a host of other interesting facts which throw light upon the problems we are dealing with. It is, in fact, a primitive Semitic cave shrine from two to three thousand years older than the Mosaic system or any other worship known to us in Syria or Arabia. The original worshippers, consecrating some cave or opening in the hill-side to the Mistress of Turquoise, slept about the shrine, seeking some revelation through dreams as to where they might find the precious stones over which the goddess watched. When the great Egyptian builders came with their larger expeditions, recognizing the goddess of the place, they at once proceeded, after their own Egyptian fashion, to ornament and adorn her shrine. They built first a portico within the sanctuary, then a court, and later on this strange series of rooms communicating with each other, until the total series extends more than 220 feet from the door of the original cave. Now, there is abundant evidence to show that the greater part of these rooms were roofed with great slabs of stone and perhaps

covered over with other broken stone and earth, with the result that each addition constituted an addition to the original cave, in which not scores but hundreds of people could sleep and wait for turquoise-bearing dreams. Steles and offerings were either in expectation or grateful recognition of successful expeditions to the mines. Those who could not be accommodated in the more palatial quarters of the growing temple, seized upon spots around about the shrine and in sight of it, and there erected the hundreds of steles which still exist, and surrounded many of them with their circles, within which they slept and watched also.

Careful research has revealed in and about the temple the existence of great beds of ashes, which settle beyond a peradventure the item of sacrifice in connection with this ritual. Petrie and his helpers have remarked the difficulty and expense which must have been involved in transporting fuel of any kind to such a remote location in a land where fuel must always have been scarce and dear. The ashes exist in tons, and even though extensive sifting has been employed in search for other remains, not a fragment of bone or fuel has been found to give any clue to what was sacrificed or burned. This fact, however, confirms another element in the Semitic ritual, that of eating in sacrificial feasts from the victim and afterward destroying every remaining trace by means of fire.

Two large courts immediately adjacent to the secondary shrine of Sopdu have been called "hanafiyehs," which means, in older Arabic, the tank-room or place of ablution. In our modern Arabic the word hanafiyeh has been transferred to the ordinary water-tap, where modern cisterns and water-supply have made the existence of such possible. These hanafiyehs or ablution places contain tanks large and small, which, from their position, plainly point to an extensive system of ablution, including perhaps the entire body, in connection with worship or adoration at the inner



Stele of Hor-ur-ra in XII Dynasty Approach

From "Researches in Sinai"

shrines. If the reader will examine the picture of the model again (Fig. 19) and, beginning at the extreme left-hand angle of the temple wall, will follow the face of that wall for a distance of less than half an inch, he will note such a tank standing to the left of one of the ancient gateways, from which apparently the worshippers obtained water for some necessary ablutions before entering the court. Across this court are two large rooms or extensions, in which this system of ablutions was carried to its finality as the worshipper approached the inner shrine or goal of his aspiration. I need not stop here at this moment to discuss this matter of ablutions in connection with worship, further than to say that the system in use at Sinai about 1500 B. C. is evidently the same as that found about the high places at Petra,¹ the Jewish worship at Jerusalem of 1000 B. C. and the Muslim worship of the mosques to the present day.

What concerns us more peculiarly in these Bethel stones, the Cave shrine and the Temple at Serabât are other fascinating facts bearing upon Bible history before, during and after the Exodus. If the reader will again glance at the stele of Hor-ur-ra (Fig. 20) and those which appear behind it, not to mention perhaps a hundred others, all of which were erected as acts of worship or adoration to the god of that place, he will be interested to learn that every one of these steles or Bethel stones had been standing for from 300 to 2000 years before Jacob set up his pillar at Bethel and anointed it with oil, when he recognized the presence of the Lord in that place. Some of these steles were standing in the days of Abraham, and it is not at all an impossibility that both Isaac and Jacob may have passed through this region on their way from Beersheba to Egypt, because this region undoubtedly was known in all those countries as Horeb, the Mount of God. An interesting confirmation has been picked up in the Hat-hor, in the nomes nearest the

¹ Chapter XXX. "J. V. and P.," Vol. II, p. 200.

desert and Arabia. She was called Hat-hor or the Goddess of the Waste in the Egyptian tongue. Now the word Horeb, as used in Hebrew and also in the modern Arabic, is plainly connected with the Arabic word "haraba" or "kharaba," which means to destroy, and if there exists upon the face of this earth a desert which in its sublimity and desolation can represent one of the waste places of creation, it is surely this desert of Sinai—it is the waste of God.

The immediate connection of this temple at Serabît with the Exodus is, without doubt, the most fascinating and the strangest possible. We have tentatively identified the Queen Hat-shep-sut with Pharaoh's daughter who adopted Moses (pp. 82, 83). Now it turns out that Queen Hat-shep-sut, plainly a lover of precious stones and jewelry, was the greatest builder about the shrine of the Mistress of Turquoise in Sinai. Her date has been given as from 1503 to 1481 B. C., and if Moses was forty years old at the time of the Exodus, then his connection with Hat-shep-sut dated backward for at least thirty-five years into her reign. Now, this Queen Hat-shep-sut is the one who built the shrine of Sopdu, and added this worship of the God of the East to the old sacred cave which belonged to the Mistress of Turquoise. Now, Sopdu was largely worshipped, as already mentioned, in the Arabian nome, that is, the desert east of the Delta. She also built the two large "hanafiyehs" or tank-rooms, which are the most imposing part of the whole temple; one of these is called the Hat-hor hanafiyeh and the other the hanafiyeh of Hat-shep-sut. Apparently, then, she developed and attached great importance to the ceremonial ablutions, which are one of the most characteristic features of all Semitic rituals. One cannot but pause at this point to ask the question as to whether it was not Moses who, the Bible says, was "educated in all the knowledge of the Egyptians," did not in turn influence and guide his foster-mother in her attitude toward this

feature of Semitic instinct which links cleanliness close to godliness.

Hat-shep-sut also founded and built what is called the "Shrine of Kings," on the north side of the temple. It is that excavation in the rock (see Fig. 19) containing two large steles immediately below the heavy pylon of Thotmes III. It is a space 26 feet long and about 17 feet wide. There was a roof covering perhaps half of the area supported by some fluted columns which lie where they fell. The carvings which adorn the walls of the rock cutting are badly damaged, but the subjects mentioned are the earliest king Sneferu, who was the first of the Egyptians to open a mine in Sinai, and Amenemhat III (3259 B. C. 1700) and Hat-shep-sut herself. There were also the representations of the divinities Hat-hor and Sopdu. The inscription mentions the honoring of Sneferu by Hat-shep-sut, and gives a long account of the founding of the shrine by that queen, also a long recital of all the offerings that were to be made, and, as Petrie adds, "there is no other such monument known which makes us regret the more that it is not in better preservation." It must have had some intimate connection with the Great Temple at Deir el Bahari which was erected by Queen Hat-shep-sut in honor of Amen-Ra, her father, Thotmes I, and her brother-husband, Thotmes II, where there was also a Cave-Shrine incorporated with the Great Temple and beautified by a pillared hall before it.

Not far from the Great Temple at Bahari, on the other side of the hill, is a tomb with an extraordinary corkscrew entrance, which contains the empty sarcophagus of Hat-shep-sut, from which the body had been removed for safe-keeping during the XXI Dynasty. And not far away, in "The Place of Eternity," was found in 1898 the tomb of Amenhetep II intact, with some mummies and other remarkable objects which had evidently been brought hastily from other tombs, including a model boat across which lay the body of a woman and other mummies, one

of which may be Hat-shep-sut. So this remarkable woman in life and in death is connected with the greatest persons and events in all Egyptian history.

Bearing in mind the fact that Moses knew perfectly well this whole district of Horeb, the Mount of God, and his connection with his royal foster-mother Hat-shep-sut, he certainly knew of this temple at Serabît and its worship, and of the presence or absence of mining expeditions in Sinai at the time of the Exodus. He recognized also the heathen characteristics of this worship and, therefore, deserves all the more credit for purifying and reforming Hebrew faith, influenced as it must have been by other faiths in Egypt and Sinai. Not a few of the critics have urged the impossibility of the Mosaic legislation against the pillars, the high places, the sacrifice of human beings, on the ground that the Children of Israel never came in contact with such until many years later, when they came in contact with it in the Promised Land, but here is absolutely indisputable evidence that all the main features of this ancient Semitic ritual were known to the worshippers at the shrine of Hat-hor, the Mistress of Turquoise, and were certainly well known to Moses in his relations with Hat-shep-sut, the Egyptian queen. And when Moses at Sinai was given "miraculously" or otherwise the moral law which, through God's chosen people, has become the foundation of all progress in Jewish and modern history, what is more natural than that it should have been written on plates of stone and carried forward by the Children of Israel into the Promised Land and into all human history?

If the old fallacy of some of the critics, that writing was not known or in common use in the days of Moses, and, therefore, the so-called Mosaic legislation could not have been committed to writing at that date, needed a death-blow, we have the means at hand. Second in importance only to the Semitic ritual and the hundreds of inscribed steles is the recovery of another ancient language, which

up to this moment has not been deciphered. After the great officials of the mining expeditions had set up their offerings in the shape of the wonderful steles around the shrine of the Mistress of Turquoise and had taken their departure, the hired miners from Syria or where (?) came and scratched their own inscriptions in this unknown hand on the edges and blank sections of the Egyptian steles. It was Mrs. Petrie's eye that caught sight of inscribed fragments on the broken rocks of a mine, following which careful search recovered the fragments of about eight tablets which are now a standing challenge to some brilliant scholar to read. Mr. Petrie says that while we are as yet unable to connect it with signs of any known value—

“ (1) It is a definite system, and not merely a scribbling made in ignorant imitation of Egyptian writing by men who knew no better. The repetition of the same five signs in the same order on the figure and on the sphinx from the temple, as well as on three of the tablets over the mines a mile and a half distant, show that mere fancy is not the source of this writing.

“ (2) It is always associated with the work of a style different from all the usual Egyptian work here, a peculiar local style which was not followed by any one trained in Egyptian methods.

“ (3) The direction of the writing was from left to right, contrary to later Semitic and most Egyptian writing.

“ (4) It is used about the XVIII Dynasty. The only indication of date that I could find at the mine 'L' was a bit of buff pottery with the red and black stripe, which we know to be characteristic of the time of Tahutmes III, and perhaps rather earlier, but not later. The figure¹ was found at the doorway of the shrine of Sopdu which was built by Hat-shep-sut. The sphinx is of red sandstone which was used by Tahutmes III and not at other times. The veneration of Sneferu, apparently named on the sphinx,

¹ Fig. 138, "P. R. S."

was strong under Tahutmes III, but no trace of it is found later. Each of these facts is not conclusive by itself, but they all agree, and we are bound to accept this writing as being of about 1500 B. C."

Here, then, are written records kept for us intact from the days of the Exodus, and from apparently one of the most unlikely points along the Route. With what genuine expectation may we not await the breaking of the seal of these ancient documents.

If I were an epic poet, instead of a missionary, I think I could find an enchanting theme in this romance of Sinai. Starting with this rock sculpture of an Egyptian king smiting a Bedawy, personifying the struggle of the ancient races around the shrine of the Mistress of Turquoise, I would follow the exploits of the searchers for the precious stones from the mines of Sinai through the homes, the palaces, the tombs of ancient Egypt. I would trace this love for jewels from the heart of primitive man through all grades of society to the heart of the Egyptian Queen Hatshep-sut, whose turquoise-girdled arms and neck became the resting-place of the Hebrew child, and whose adoration at that famous shrine in Sinai left for other generations monuments of her favor and power. I would follow Moses through that life in an Egyptian palace, out into the desert again, where he must have learned to hate that green stone of his foster queen mother after all those theophanies at Sinai. I would reveal the secret of why he *omitted* from the breast-plate of the High Priest of Tabernacle and Temple the best-known precious stone of the ancient Egyptians. For such a romance would bring us into contact with every art and department of ancient life and learning—ethnology, mineralogy, chronology, archæology, dynasties, commerce, art and religion—because traces of all these still exist among the grim, lonely, sublime granite peaks of Sinai.

CHAPTER XII

REPHIDIM AND WADY FEIRAN

LEAVING Wady Maghareh by the same narrow entrance, we turned again into Wady Sidreh, which bends south, and after an hour leads to a wide table-land. Due east opens a valley called Wady Nebaa, but our road swung round to the south and into the famous Wady Mukattab, or Valley of the Inscriptions. We lunched that day at the angle of the two valleys, and greatly enjoyed the prospect to the north and east. We were now in contact with another line of evidence which greatly strengthens the position we have taken concerning this ancient highway through Sinai. The foot of the mountain on the west side of the valley is strewn with blocks of sandstone which are covered with rude inscriptions, which in past ages and in recent years have excited the liveliest interest among travellers and have given rise to some of the most fantastic theories imaginable. They have been called "*The Inscriptions of Sinai*," and as early as 535 A. D. a certain "Indian traveller," named Cosmas, circulated the story that they had actually been executed by the Israelites during the Exodus. This story has hung round the valley, and even in recent times was revived by another traveller, who outdid all his predecessors in fantastic foolishness. During the past fifty years they have all been carefully copied and studied, and have turned out to be very largely in the Nabathean character;¹ others are in Greek and a few are in Coptic and Arabic. The smaller figures, entirely destitute of any artistic value, represent armed and un-

¹ See "J. V. and P.," Vol. II, p. 62.

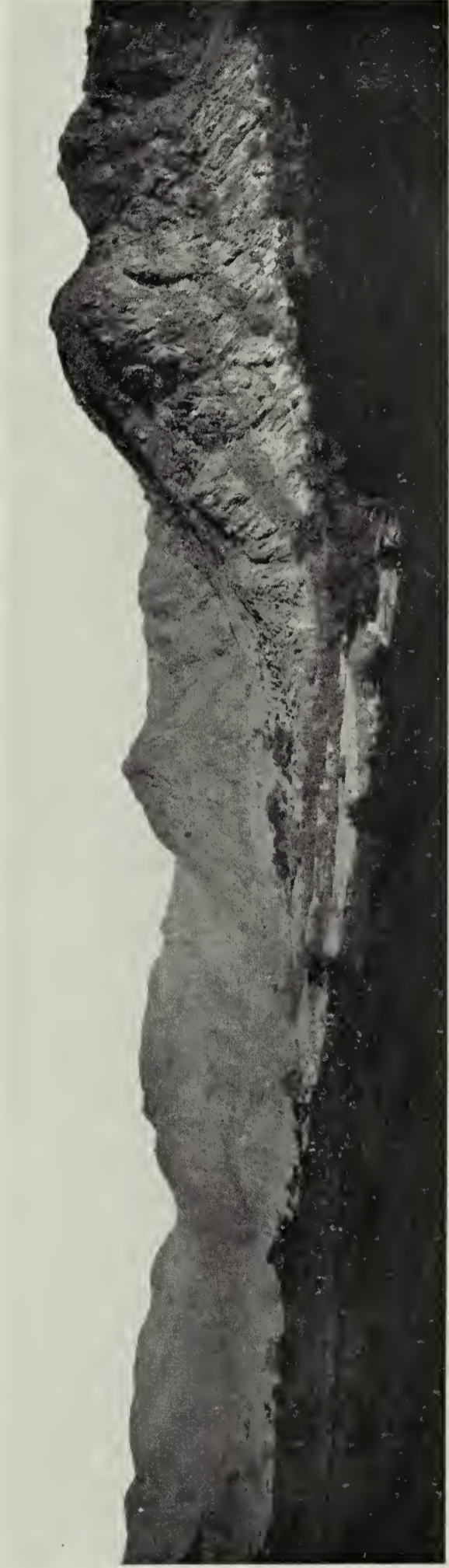
almost invariably in the name of Horeb,¹ while the actual discussion of events within the district, and especially of records whose origin is in any way connected with the district, make use of the word Sinai.

I may also add here another remark which I shall find necessary to repeat elsewhere, that the attempts to definitely identify special spots or the absolute location of Biblical events is one of the most difficult and unreasonable and useless efforts possible. It can be said truthfully that of all New Testament events, the absolute location of but two are known: the one is the hallelujah corner on the Mount of Olives, where Jewish pilgrims to their royal city, following the changeless ancient road, first caught sight of the temple and began to sing their Songs of Degrees, and the other is Jacob's well, at Nablus or Shechem. Naught but the carefully located monuments on the battlefields of Waterloo and Gettysburg could preserve for three generations the separate localities at which occurred the most thrilling events of those great struggles, and both these events are almost within the memory of living participants, therefore it is futile and unreasonable to expect that we shall ever be able to locate absolutely the exact spots where even the great events connected with the Exodus occurred. Tradition often seizes upon rocks and peaks in connection with sacred events, and, curiously enough, almost always prefers the highest peak or location in the vicinity, and this in contradiction to our well-known experience that not always the highest peak or the most prominent shoulder of a mountain gives the finest and most comprehensive view. This can be thoroughly justified at Rephidim, at Sinai, at Mount Hor, at Nebo, and at the Mount of Olives and Carmel, as well as on the lower spurs of Mount Hermon, the most probable scene of the transfiguration. Now, the Biblical events recorded at Rephidim

¹ The Jahvistic Document uses "Sinai" according to the critics, which agrees with my remark—Chapter XVIII.



Oasis of Feiran--Wady Feiran leading downward to the Sea and via Wady Mukattab to Suez



Oasis of Feiran--Central portion and site of ancient city looking west. Rude Bedawin huts in shadow. Stream of water to the right. Exit toward Sinai among palms to the right

are that the people strove with Moses and tempted the Lord because there was no water to drink (Exodus 17: 1-7). It is absolutely sure that these events took place in this famous valley of Wady Feiran, at some point below the district where the present copious stream of sparkling water is lost beneath the sands and beds of gravel. Tradition seized upon a certain rock at which the Arabs still cast pebbles, imitating the action of the Hebrews as referred to in one of the lingering traditions, but in this valley there are a hundred other spots where the smiting of the rock or the opening of a sealed or unknown subterranean stream might just as well have taken place. The main features are unmistakably clear, as we shall see later. Barred by the Amalekites from marching up the valley to the springs of water, they were obliged to camp where thirst drove them into rebellion against both Moses and the Lord. The second event is recorded in the defeat of Amalek (Exodus 17: 8-16). As we shall see later, the Oasis of Feiran, lying between Rephidim and the localized Sinai, is the most important spot in the whole peninsula. It well deserves its name, "the pearl of Sinai," and must have been in every period of ancient history the most coveted and valuable possession of the dwellers in the peninsula. Many of those who have discussed this problem of Rephidim and the victory over the Amalekites have repeated that strange process of straining at the gnat and swallowing the camel.

One of the most impressive and mysterious facts, as noted by travellers and military men, is the marvelous way in which rumors and reports are spread through a desert or sparsely inhabited country, and one could give an almost endless series of illustrations concerning this custom so puzzling to foreigners. Our cameleers never met and passed other cameleers, either going in the same or coming from the opposite direction, without interviewing every man along the line and exchanging some items of

information or asking questions concerning other facts which had come to their knowledge. Add this to the fact that still other Arabs often crossed our line of travel at right angles. It is no exaggeration to say that within sixty hours after we reached the Springs of Moses our presence was known in every corner of the peninsula. Now, it is perfectly sure that in just the same way the news of the escape of the Children of Israel was carried within a limited number of days to every section of the inhabitants of the peninsula. There is nothing strange or impossible in this matter. It could not have been otherwise.

I have already referred to the fact that the Midianites was a general term, covering at that particular time almost all the dwellers north and east of Sinai, in just the same way as our general term Bedawin covers them to-day, and that the Kenites and Amalekites were the local names of tribes or sections in just the same way that the Sawâlihah and Aleikat are divisions of the present inhabitants whose general name is Towwara, or dwellers in the mountain, in contradiction to those who dwell farther north in the plains.

The Amalekites, according to the Bible story, were plainly the owners or possessors of the Oasis of Feiran at that time. During the first month which elapsed after the Children of Israel left Egypt the report went forward among the Amalekites, and it would be speedily known by which route the Children of Israel were journeying. It would require neither the foresight of a prophet nor the information from the Children of Israel themselves to assure the Amalekites that the Children of Israel were making straight for this marvelous oasis, "the Pearl of Sinai."

The next important fact, so plain and simple to the dweller in this land or to the really observant traveller passing through, is that in choosing a rendezvous the dwellers of the country, at that time the Amalekites or to-day the

Bedawin tribes, would, of necessity, choose a spot where there was abundance of water and adjacent space enough to accommodate the flocks and animals which, of necessity, must come with both the Amalekites and the Bedawin when they gather for warlike purposes. Now, there is absolutely no other spot in the whole peninsula to be for one moment compared with this Oasis of Feiran; therefore it is the simplest deduction of common sense, which harmonizes absolutely with the Biblical narrative, that the Amalekites would, of necessity, flock to their most cherished and precious possession, the water and pasturage of the oasis, and there defend themselves and their possessions against this strange host which had escaped from Egypt and was entering their country. Those who have journeyed across the various desert stretches of Arabia tell us that, in many of the locations where water is said to exist, it consists more often than otherwise of a dirty shallow well, and that the contents of these wells are drained to the last drop by a single caravan containing twenty or thirty Arabs with as many camels. We have already noted an instance of this at Marah (see page 70). This fact, coupled with our more accurate knowledge of the present water-supply of all Sinai, which is undoubtedly the same as the ancient water-supply, makes it certain that any great body of people assembling to oppose the coming of the Children of Israel must have assembled at the Oasis of Feiran and nowhere else. Therefore we can clearly understand that the Amalekites were waiting for the Children of Israel at this point, and, according to every law of modern or ancient warfare, while encamped about their springs and abundant supply of water, they would sally forth to meet their enemy in the thirsty desert at some point beyond. And this is exactly what happened to the Children of Israel, who were stopped at some point one, two, three, four or five hours below the oasis in a waterless district which the Bible knows as Rephidim.

After the mountains of the peninsula, the most striking feature of the whole district is the peculiar formation of the valleys. Many years ago the great traveller Burckhardt remarked that most of the valleys of Sinai sloped gently upward to the summits of the mountains, where they terminated in a plain wide or long as the case might be, and then sloped gently down again, and while we in our route followed undoubtedly the route of the Children of Israel and the route of the traders of all antiquity from the oasis to Sinai, cutting across mountain ridges from valley to valley, it would have been possible to have reached the final elevation of 5200 feet on Sinai by following another route through the well-known valleys which slope upward as gently as the finest boulevards of the most civilized country in the world. What this means will be better understood by an outline description of this Wady Feiran, in the first vale of which we pitched our tents the night after our visit to Maghareh. If, instead of journeying across the plain of El-Markha eastward to Hanak el Lagm, we had continued southward along the seashore, and passed the promontory which marks the southern limit of that plain, we could there have entered the wide opening of the Valley of Feiran which swings generally to the northeast for a distance of twenty miles, and then turns southeast for another fifteen miles until it reaches the oasis, the Pearl of Sinai, at the base of Serbal. The valley then winds for another five miles to the limits of the oasis, where the same valley, changing its name to Wady es-Sheikh, swings eastward for another eighteen miles before it turns at right angles southward for another ten miles to the Monastery of Sinai, almost dividing the peninsula from side to side, a swing of 80 to 90 miles in a winding valley to cover an air line of, say, about half that distance.

Into and out of this greatest and most famous of all the valleys open other valleys and routes northward, through the desert of the wanderings toward Beersheba, Gaza and

the Mediterranean coast to Hazeroth, Kadesh Barnea and the Valley of the Jordan, to Akaba, Petra and the East Jordan country, to Damascus and the Valley of the Euphrates, and, again, through Akaba to Arabia and the farther East. I draw attention once more at this point to this all-important fact, travellers and traders of all antiquity coming from Phœnecia and the west Jordan country were no doubt accustomed to take the short and dangerous route from Gaza by the seacoast into Egypt, but that all other travellers from the Jordan Valley and eastward, which includes Mesopotamia and Arabia, were much more likely to take this route through Sinai than they were to cross the desert of et Tih. I again repeat that these routes were fixed by the existence and abundance of water, and into this Valley of Feiran came the Children of Israel.

Our path down the Wady el Mukattab, which was undoubtedly theirs also, enters the Wady Feiran at the angle where the valley turns its upward slope from the northeast to the southeast. We pitched our tents in the first vale of Feiran. It is said that the valley from this point to the seacoast is stonier and rougher than anywhere else in its course, but not at all impassable. The vale where we camped is fully a mile and a half in diameter, and at this point would easily accommodate the number of the Children of Israel according to the revised estimate. Just above this vale in the valley itself are black hills which apparently cut off all progress in that direction, but when one approaches along the gently ascending slope a second vale opens beyond which is fully half a mile across and more than a mile long, and these vales are closed in by the mountain ranges on every side. Then for fully five hours, as camels travel, we passed turn after turn, corner after corner, winding and twisting among the peaks and mountains scarred and blackened, rugged and shattered, before we reached the first signs of vegetation and of living life, which

indicated our approach to this enchanting oasis amid the granite peaks of the peninsula. Now, just as was remarked concerning the possible location of the water-supply to the Children of Israel by the smiting of the rock, so we may say there are any one of a hundred peaks among these vales where Moses could have stood and watched the wavering conflict between the Children of Israel and the Amalekites, thus defending their most precious possessions of water, pasturage and ancestral camping-places against the inroad of the Children of Israel, and they, driven desperate by the lack of water for their families and their flocks, fighting under God's guidance, their way through and upward to the Promised Land.

While the Biblical narrative is perfectly clear as to the smiting of the rock and the defeat of the Amalekites at Rephidim, it is much more likely that the visit of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, took place at the oasis above, and after the news of the defeat of the Amalekites had reached the ears of the Kenites, another branch of the Midianites, who had sheltered Moses and given him a wife in the days when he fled from the face of Pharaoh and hid himself in the same desert. So that I shall leave this event for notice later on, marking only the one fact, that according to internal evidence of the narrative, when the Children of Israel reached Rephidim they were already at *Horeb*, the Mount of God.

CHAPTER XIII

THE OASIS OF FEIRAN, THE PEARL OF SINAI

THE word oasis was originally the proper name of a fertile spot in the Libyan desert where there is a spring or well and more or less vegetation. Now it means any fertile tract in the midst of a barren waste. To most readers it recalls a picture in a schoolboy geography, a waste of desert sand, a few palm trees, a naked savage, a spring or well of water, and a wealth of burning sunshine forming an isle of the sandy sea. This may do for poetry and art, but it is inaccurate as geography.

In the tropical zone of all continents, where the heat is extreme and the rainfall heavy, we find dense and almost uninhabited forests. Where the rainfall is light or nil we have deserts. In most large deserts there are vast stretches of sand which drift before the wind into dunes or sandhills, and the greater part of such deserts is made up of almost arid plains, stony plateaus, deep valleys and mountain ranges. And such is the Peninsula of Sinai. Wherever water can be brought upon the soil of a desert the resulting vegetation will be an oasis, though almost of necessity the water of an oasis to produce an appreciable vegetation must be a running stream, and the word oasis in Sinai is applied only to such. The extent of the cultivated area depends entirely upon the abundance or paucity of the stream. It is one of these inexplicable mysteries of nature, a miracle it often seems, that the most barren and repulsive desert will suddenly blossom into life and beauty whenever it is awakened by rain or irrigation. Another distinction which needs to be borne in mind for the sake

of clearness is that so often carelessly lost sight of, between "desert" and "wilderness." "Desert" primarily refers to the absence of water and hence is void of vegetation, while "wilderness" is originally a tract of *wild* land or region inhabited only by wild beasts. It is not necessarily void of either water or vegetation. Deuteronomy 32: 10 says poetically that God found Israel "in a desert land and in the waste howling wilderness." So I do no violence to language or fact when I suggest that we come nearer the truth if we translate the "wilderness of Sinai" by the "oasis of Sinai," and leave the "desert of Sinai" to cover the patches of real desert which exist within that district. Unfortunately both "wilderness" and "desert" are represented in Hebrew by only one and the same word, *medbar*,¹ which is one of such multiplex meanings as entirely different as our English words "desert," "wilderness" and "pasture land." So with this provisional correction of our ideas concerning these important words, we may now proceed to describe the Oasis of Feiran as the "Pearl of Sinai," which, with the extensive series of original photographs, ought to give some true conception concerning this most enchanting spot of the peninsula.

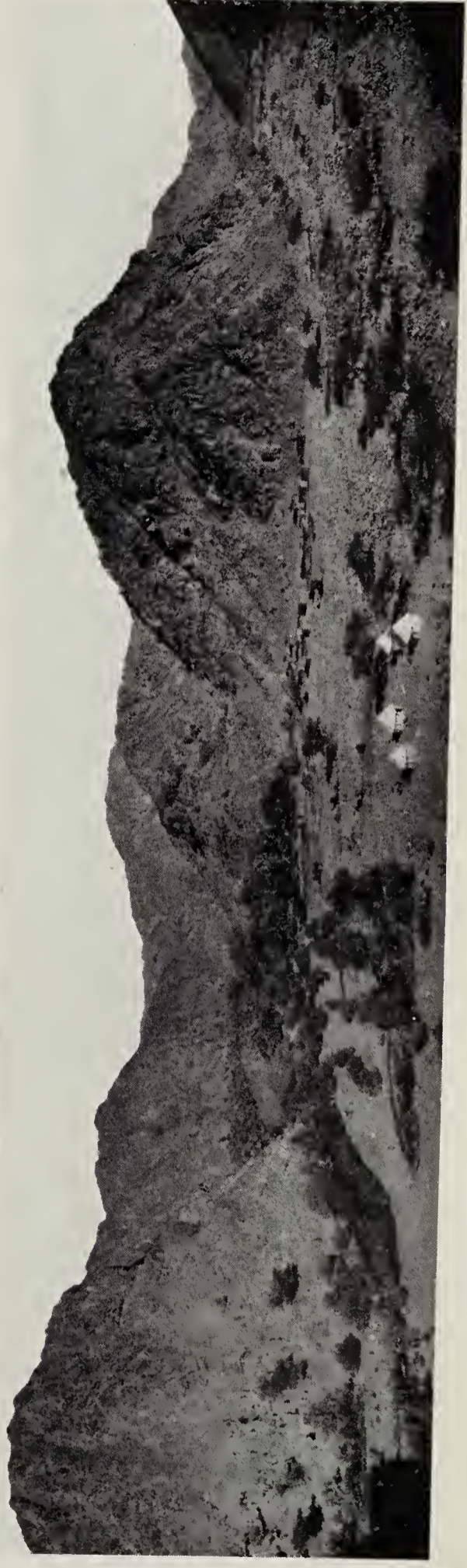
The *Oasis* of Feiran is not an "isle of the sandy sea," but an irregular strip of fertility some six miles long, lying within a cradle of granite mountains whose massive red slopes and jagged summits, now crowding close and then receding, present an enchanting contrast to this sinuous line of living, almost liquid, green. It is the extreme northern section of the Wady Feiran, and lying at the base of Serbal, one of the grandest peaks of Sinai, its copious supply of clear sparkling water has made it in all history the most precious possession of the peninsula—the "Pearl of Sinai."

Ten miles below the oasis proper we come upon signs of vegetation—the trunks of palm trees washed down by

¹ In Pentateuch translated 12 times as "desert" and 98 times as "wilderness."



Oasis of Feiran—Wady Aleyat leading to Serbal



Oasis of Feiran—looking east—Water comes down valley in center of picture

the great flood of 1867 and possibly other floods since then. An hour below our camping-place we came upon moist beds of sand, then pools of fresh water among the straggling palms, and, finally, the clear running brook and denser vegetation about the central amphitheater of the oasis where once stood the ancient city of Feiran, and where we pitched our tents. From this point onward the pictures I took must help tell the story. They can give but an inadequate impression of the beauty of the district where in every scene the varying hues of the bare red granite show through and above the green foliage in every direction. If the reader will study carefully the four panoramas (21, 22, 23 and 24), he will get a clearer idea of the peaks and mountains surrounding this central space and the valleys opening from it. I had counted twelve of these most prominent granite masses before I noted the fact that there are actually twelve valleys, large and small, which bear separate names; thus, without making use of one's imagination, it is actually the fact that there are ten smaller valleys centering in the oasis at this point, exclusive of the Wady Feiran itself, in which east and west the oasis itself lies. Panorama 21 looks back and down the Wady Feiran, up which we had journeyed from Maghareh. In the extreme right of the picture among the palm trees are a number of rude stone huts which are occupied by the Bedawin for a month or more every year. Immediately above the huts is one of the twelve peaks referred to, and the second one is the mass to the left on the opposite side of the valley. The next panorama (22), swinging round the circle against the hands of the watch, is one taken at early morning, looking westward. Other rude Bedawin huts lie in the shadow. The stream of water flows among the palm trees out of the Wady Feiran at the extreme right of the picture, and follows the course of the valley past the Bedawin huts in Panorama 21 to the exit. The small figures to the left of the center are our camels and cameleers engaged in striking our tents.

Panorama 23 gives more of these bold peaks, and looks up Wady Aleyat, which leads to the base of Serbal, the most remote peak to the right of the center of the picture. The Bedawin huts which lie in the shadow of Panorama 22 are now opposite to us and beyond our camp.

Panorama 24, swinging still farther to the left, looks east and up the Wady Feiran, through which we are to pass on our way to Sinai. The stream of water which makes the oasis lies close to the base of the mountains to the left of the valley, flowing down among the trees on the extreme left-hand corner in the photograph.

Panorama 30, which you will find facing page 160, gives the ancient mound from which the preceding Panoramas 21, 23 and 24 were taken. This is a rocky and isolated hill rising to a height of about 100 feet, in the center of this amphitheater which is called El-Meharret, bearing on its summit traces of an early Christian monastery and church which will be referred to more especially in connection with the problem of the Mountain of the Law. The amphitheater at its widest is not more than half a mile across, and immediately below this isolated hill are some gardens, several acres in extent, belonging to the monastery of St. Katharine at Sinai, watched over by a roughly dressed monk, who does what he can in the way of cultivation with the unskilful Bedawin workmen. The remainder of the space is dotted here and there with the turfa trees, and strewn with granite boulders brought by the very infrequent torrents from the rugged mountains above. The surrounding peaks vary in height from 300 to 700 feet above the floor of the oasis, and from their bases to their summits in every direction they show traces of human handiwork in the shape of caves and rude walls, with here and there, as in Panorama 27, well-shaped buildings on the extreme tops of the peaks.

As early as the second century A. D. a Latin writer, Claudius Ptolemaeus, speaks of the town of Pharan



Water and Shade
Dwellers in the Oasis

(better spelled Feiran), which soon became an episcopal see and the central point of the monastic and anchorite fraternities of the peninsula. Church historians tell us of this strange monastic movement which, originating in Egypt, filled the mountain valleys of all Syria and Arabia with hermits, who fled from the temptations and luxury of the ancient world to spend their remaining days in solitude, according to this erratic and erroneous conception of Christianity. Remains of old monasteries and hermits' cells are nowhere more numerous than here and on the rocky slopes and plateaus on Serbal. Records of the Council of Chalcedon (451 A. D.) reveal the fact that the oasis possessed an archbishop of its own, who was, however, subordinate to the then recently founded Patriarchate of Jerusalem. While during those centuries the Romans were nominally masters of Feiran, it was in reality under the power of the Saracen princes, because about a hundred years later one of these princes went through the form of presenting it to the Emperor Justinian, who proceeded, as we shall see later, to extend some help and protection to the wretched monks and anchorites of Sinai. About the time of Justinian these monks and anchorites embraced the heretical principles of the monothelites and monophysites, and thus came under the ban of the Orthodox Synods and Emperors. Some centuries later the whole of this Greek or Roman Christian occupation was wiped out of existence by the inroads of the Muslims, who left but a single monastery standing throughout the whole peninsula, which is the monastery of St. Katharine at Sinai, and the real reason for this exemption, so far as I know, has never before been put into print (see page 209). So for fully 1200 years this ancient oasis, the Pearl of Sinai, has been uninhabited, unoccupied except by the roving tribes of Bedawin, who gather here from every corner of the peninsula once a year when the dates are ripe. During a period of thirty or forty days they buy and sell, they feast and fight, they

wrangle over the proceeds of transporting pilgrims, the ownership of camels, of palm trees, and of water rights in every spring and well of the district. They give and take in marriage, settling old blood feuds and making extensive preparations for new ones, and, finally, they are driven in desperation from this garden spot by the swarms of gnats, flies and fierce mosquitoes which are attracted by the moisture and ripening of the fruits and the presence of numberless sheep and goats and camels.

Glancing farther back in history than the Christian era, there are various lines of evidence to prove that the Idumeans, who are said to have rivalled the Tyrians in commerce, possessed towns about the Gulf of Akaba and Suez, and among them also the city of Feiran. In that case their ancient port at et-Tor would have been the ancient as well as the modern starting-place for caravans into Arabia by way of Petra. Swiftly moving dromedaries might well have crossed the desert *via* Nakhl during the cooler or rainy season, but larger caravans would more naturally take the route *via* Feiran. And the Nabatheans,¹ who in later times (312 B. C. to 106 A. D.) seized Petra, the ancient capital of the Idumeans, and whose possession in the days of their greatest prosperity extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, most certainly occupied this same site, because of all the so-called "Sinaitic inscriptions" the Nabathean language and characters are the most abundant. There is another of those incontrovertible facts concerning the trade routes which were known and used from the remotest antiquity.

When we entered the outer borders of the oasis in February, 1909, we lunched at a spot shown in Figure 25, and before we finished our rest hour some of the wretched inhabitants gathered about us, and Figure 26 gives an idea of what they look like. I had to snap them quickly, since the small cub of a boy quickly took a dislike to my camera and

¹ "J. V. and P.," Vol. II, p. 62.



An ancient Tomb and Shrine
Tombs and Graveyard among the Palms

was led away weeping by his ragged parent. Afterward, at our camp an hour farther on, I lined up the cameleers in front of the tent (Fig. 4), and made another study in black and white, with the green palm trees and red granite behind and above them.

On leaving the plain of el-Muharrad, the narrow path winds for more than an hour among the dense growth of palms, crossing and recrossing the brook. Ten minutes up the valley we came to two tombs (Figs. 27 and 28) and a graveyard, the personification of loneliness and neglect. Inside the lower tomb are two graves, the one covered with a cheap green cloth and the other with a white one. Above the tombs are rags from the sick, three-cornered charms, bits of camel trappings. Outside these tombs are smeared or washed with a white clay that must disappear instantly whenever rain chances to fall. One of these tombs is that of Sheikh Abu Shebib, the patron saint of the district. To this sacred spot are brought people suspected of crime or false swearing, and to "swear at the tomb of Abu Shebib" is considered a proof of innocence or truthful testimony.

The Peninsula of Sinai is actually divided into so many districts, each of which has its own private or patron saint, furnishing an excellent example of the state of affairs in Palestine at the beginning of the period when the Hebrew prophets began to proclaim a God of heaven and earth above all local deities. We shall meet another powerful patron saint in the tomb of Nebi Saleh (Fig. 54).

Beyond the graveyard of Abu Shebib we passed through several dense bays of palms, where our loaded camels did not find it easy moving. The palms fairly crowd each other from one granite wall to the other, ceasing only when the soil and moisture ends. Panorama 29 gives an idea of one of these bays. I traced the brook to its source where it oozed up among the gravel, without noting any distinct fountain head, though such may well exist and be temporarily choked with sand.

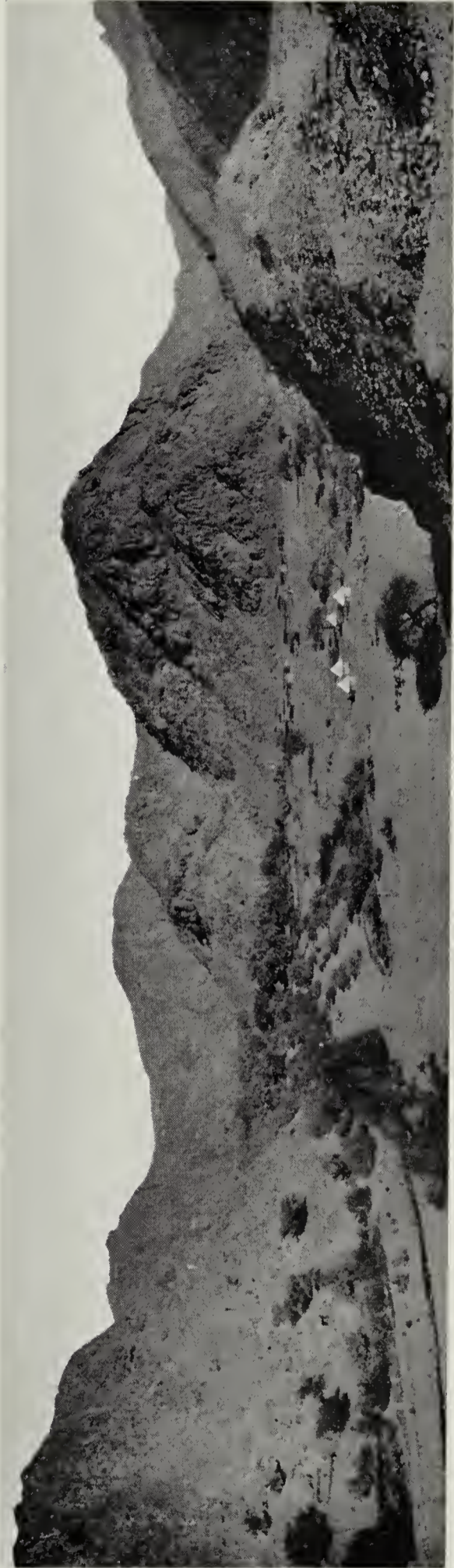
Not far beyond the fountain head are the geological evidences that the Oasis of Feiran was at one time a lake. Along the east side of the valley, more especially in the sharp angles, are great masses of clay, 60 to 100 feet in height, that were probably deposited when the valley was closed at some narrow point below and the oasis was a lake. These masses of whitish clay can be seen clearly in Figure 31 and also in the Panorama 36. After the barrier was removed the brook still remained as a relic of the ancient lake, and its sudden appearance at the base of the red granite cliffs on the eastern edge of the oasis, and its equally sudden disappearance on the western edge eight miles away, must have been a constant source of wonder to the Children of Israel, as it is still to the vivid imagination of the modern inhabitants of the desert.

Just above the place where the brook appears is the most extensive collection of turfa trees of the district, and from which the monks of St. Katharine and the Bedawin collect a large part of the modern manna, which is gathered from April to June, and afterward sold to the Russian and other pilgrims.

Three-quarters of an hour beyond the turfa trees we reach the last striking feature of the oasis, a beautiful natural gateway to the oasis for all travelling in the opposite direction, that is, from Sinai to the oasis. It is called el Buwaib, "the little gate" or "door." Figure 33 shows how the red granite walls of the valley have crowded in within twenty feet of each other, leaving this unique entrance 100 feet long. It could easily be closed by massive iron gates. Another curious feature connected with it is a little well of water, not more than six feet deep, among the pack of donkeys at the left of the gateway, showing how the crowding granite cliffs have done the same for the moisture of the valley under the sandy floor, and thus producing a perennial, though scanty, water-supply at this most unlikely place. My own riding camel appears



Oasis of Feiran—Palm-trees crowding the valley from granite wall



Feiran, showing isolated hill el Muharrad, site of ancient Monastery

kneeling at the right and waiting while I took this photo.

The appearance of the donkeys suggests another phase of Bedawin life. So far as we could judge, there were not half a dozen of the *hundreds* of huts in the whole oasis occupied. But off in every direction among the lonely valleys are little clusters of tents pitched in the most secluded spots, safe from observation and molestation by the passers-by on the main roads of the peninsula. Naoum Beg Shucair had given us letters of introduction to the Sheikh of all the clans in Sinai, and his tents were an hour away from this little fountain of el Buwaib. And after having inquired carefully after Sheikh Musa Bu Naser, we sent our letters to him by a relative whom we met at this point, and the old sheikh visited us a week later in Sinai.

I tried in Egypt to get some estimate of the possible number of the palm trees in the oasis, but no one seemed able to make even a guess. I questioned our cameleers, and they were even less able or willing, always fearing the coming of the tax collectors. The Egyptian Government, regarding the extreme poverty of the Bedawin, takes no tax from the oases, but does require the loyalty of the Arabs and faithfulness in protecting travellers and pilgrims to Sinai. We tried to estimate mentally the trees as we passed, and feel sure they would exceed 25,000, without taking any note of those in the side valleys.

Some curious reader may ask just here why the Bible makes no mention of these palm trees after noting the seventy palm trees at Elim. The answer is simple. There may not have been a single palm tree growing in the valley at that time; they may all have been introduced a thousand or even two thousand years after the Children of Israel passed by. The Children of Israel had infinitely greater need of water and pasturage than they had of either the shade or the fruit of the palms. The battle of Rephidim was a battle for the oasis and its water. Among the first

things that happened after the people reached the "wilderness of Sinai" (Gen. 19: 1), which here may well be translated the "oasis of Sinai," they were directed to "wash their garments," which could not have been done then or now at any other point in Sinai. And when, many months later, Moses ground the golden calf to powder and strewed it upon the water, it was upon the stream that descended from or by the mount (Ex. 32: 20; Deut. 9: 21). But these incidental notices of the flowing stream are altogether subsidiary to the considerations which we shall allude to later, after we have disposed of, according to our promise, the discussion concerning the problem of the numbers of those who escaped from Egypt in the Exodus.



Sediment of ancient Lake in the Oasis
Distant view of Jebel el Bint

CHAPTER XIV

THE NUMBERS OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL

PART I.—THE DIFFICULTIES

WITHOUT doubt the most difficult element in the problem of the Exodus has been the question concerning the numbers of the Children of Israel who left Egypt in connection with that great movement. Many references have already been made to the fact that the writers, or compilers, or redactors of the Hexateuch in its present form had before them written documents so old and so revered that they did not even attempt to harmonize the apparent or real variations with each other. It is not at all inconceivable that after the flight of centuries, the existence of only one, or, at most, very few copies of the same document, the utter absence of dictionaries and ten thousand other volumes such as we are familiar with, that they should make not only slips in numbers, but also mistakes in the meanings of common words. These facts in themselves open the door for a correction of the figures of the Exodus on exactly the same basis as other figures have been modified in the Old Testament text. Those who have examined the original manuscripts of the Bible, and have faced the difficulties of transmission by copyists and translators through a few centuries of its history, will have little difficulty in accepting emendations proposed and forced upon us by uncontested facts from other sources.

The impressions of the writer after the most careful thought on the problem of the numbers is this: to lead *any* number of people through the Peninsula of Sinai under the

circumstances of the Exodus was one of the greatest undertakings of human history. To have led 3,000,000 people was a physical impossibility, and would have involved an unbroken series of miracles far beyond the claims of the most ardent supporter of the "miraculous," in the sense in which that word has been used and abused. But the writers of the Pentateuch make no such claims as this would certainly involve. The reduction of the numbers, for perfectly justifiable considerations, *involving a change in a single word only*, relieves the situation of its most perplexing elements, and brings the whole movement well within historical limits without taking an iota from the divinely ordered plans.

Exodus 1: 8-12, 14: 20-22 describes a state of affairs in which the Israelites are numerous enough to call forth public measures of oppression. In 1: 15-21 Pharaoh deals secretly with the trouble, and the Israelites are so few in number that their midwives can be mentioned by name. There are five places only in the Hexateuch where the numbers of the Children of Israel who left Egypt are mentioned definitely—Exodus 12: 37, 38: 26; Numbers 1: 46, 2: 32, 26: 51. The first mention in Exodus is in connection with the Children of Israel when they began their journey from Rameses to Succoth; the second mention, in Exodus 38: 26, is in connection with the payment of a half-shekel of the sanctuary for the building of the Tabernacle. In the first reference the Children of Israel are said to number about "six hundred thousand of foot that were men besides children," and in the second reference (38: 26) the numbers are given still more definitely as "six hundred thousand and three thousand and fifty men." In the book of Numbers the figures with variations are mentioned in connection with two censuses, the one taken at Sinai in the first year of the Exodus (Num. 1) and the other (chap. 26) taken in the fortieth year after leaving Egypt, and the details given are: (1) all the male Israelites over twenty years of age

belonging to each of the twelve tribes (*a*) in the second year of the Exodus and (*b*) in the fortieth year; (2) all the first-born male Israelites above a month old (chap. 3: 43); and (3) all the males above a year old belonging to the three Levitical families (*a*) in the second year (chapter 3), (*b*) in the fortieth year (chapter 26); (4) all the male Levites between 30 and 50 years of age (chapter 4).

The figures given for all the male Israelites over 20 years of age in the first census is "six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty," and "six hundred thousand and a thousand seven hundred and thirty."

Roughly speaking, however, the Christian world has taken six hundred thousand men, twenty years old and upward, and have multiplied these, according to well-known custom, by the figure 5, which represents the number of an ordinary family in comparison with the able-bodied men, and have reached the large number of three million persons as the probable number of the Children of Israel who went out of Egypt. These figures have, in the course of centuries, become so deeply embedded in art, song and history and in the religious education of the race, that it will take perhaps more than one generation to correct them.

Forty years ago a certain section of the Christian church was convulsed by the discussion which raged concerning the meaning of the word "day" in the book of Genesis. It was argued with a vehemence which recalled the spirit of the Crusaders that it did mean and could mean nothing else but a day of twenty-four hours, and all arguments or suggestions to the contrary were reckoned by some to have their origin in the bottomless pit. But in the course of a very few years this extreme position was abandoned, and at this present time no one has the slightest difficulty in deciding whether this little word means a day of twenty-four hours or a period of twelve hours, the counterpart of

the night, or a period of time which may extend back indefinitely to the remotest ages of the earth's history. In just the same way we have now reached the point where a simple and reasonable change in the translation of one word proves to be the key to unlock a great series of difficulties in connection with the Exodus. It seems almost unnecessary to review the arguments against the current conception of the difficulties involved, but because so many commentators and popular writers have amused and exhausted themselves in showing the impossibility of the numbers without offering any reasonable solution, it is well worth stating all the arguments that have ever been raised, Biblical and extra-Biblical, and then to show, once for all, that the whole series of difficulties are founded upon a palpable error which I think will soon be laid aside for ever.

The cities Pithom and Rameses, from which the Bible states (Exodus 12:37) the Children of Israel took their departure, have been identified, and there is nothing in their size which would justify the supposition that one-tenth of three million people could ever have been employed on their construction. The land of Goshen is also agreed upon by the great majority of scholars as identical with the stretch of country now known as Wady Tumilat. Its total extent of arable land in the days of the Exodus could not have exceeded 80 square miles, and it is physically impossible that three millions of people could ever have found dwelling-places within this limited space. It was known, moreover, that Egyptian officialdom was developed to such an extent about 1500 B. C. that all the inhabitants of every rank and grade were carefully enrolled and recorded with a minuteness and fulness rivalling the statistics of any modern government. Therefore it is almost inconceivable that such a large number of people as three millions could have existed within the boundaries of Egypt without having secured very substantial notice for some reason or other, and it is still more inconceivable that such a num-

ber of people could have departed from Egypt without it having been recorded somewhere. Moreover, neither written records nor archæological remains furnish any indication of such a wholesale depopulation of this section of Egypt at that period. In Roman times all Egypt had only 7,000,000 people (Diodorus 1:31), and in our own day, 11,000,000.

When we reach the Peninsula of Sinai we come face to face with another series of difficulties which surpass anything referred to. From unimpeachable evidence, all of which will be referred to later, it is certain there has been no change in the rainfall of the whole peninsula since 5000 years B. C. Then there is in almost every land on the face of the earth a distinct and almost unchangeable relation between the natural features and conditions of the soil and climate with the population which such a land can bear. There are many distinct lines of evidence which point to the fact that the ancient population of the district involved could never have greatly exceeded the population which the land supports at the present day, in fact, the present population, as perhaps was the same in all preceding ages, lives perilously near the starvation point, which is fixed by the scanty water-supply and the insignificant stretches of arable land. Now, making the fair supposition that the ancient population numbered from seven to ten thousand people, then such a battle as that at Rephidim, between the inhabitants of the land and six hundred thousand fighting men, is simply inconceivable, whereas, as will also appear later, the real figures would allow of every phase of the conflict claimed by the Biblical records.

During the past century of exploration in Sinai those who have entered the peninsula with the purpose or expectation of finding space, water and other supplies for three millions of people, have been hampered, baffled and perplexed by the physical impossibilities of the situation, whereas, as will also be seen later, with the changed

figures, the land fits the Bible record as the key fits the lock, and the difficulties referred to begin at the passage of the Red Sea and continue to the end of the conquest of Canaan under Joshua. Robinson, in discussing the possible crossing of some of the flats at Suez between the tides, computes that in order to cross in the time allowed they must have marched 1000 abreast and 2000 deep, which is highly improbable and, in fact, impossible.

Moreover, the really marvelous elements connected with the real Exodus would need to be multiplied one hundred-fold if we were obliged to provide for the impossible numbers involved in this common conception.

Turning now to the Bible itself, we may speedily prove that the great total, three millions and more, is impossible. Males over twenty years of age in any land form but little more than a quarter of the whole population. Thus (including the fifty-one thousand Levites) the total in the first census of six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty men would, of necessity, as already noted, represent a total of men, women and children considerably beyond three million, and this multitude is represented as having spent forty years in the wilderness. From what is now known of the land it is impossible to assume that these millions could have wandered far and wide, and, moreover, this is not the representation of the text, which declares that in certain sections of the Route (1) they camped in fixed order and that (2) they marched together at a signal given by two trumpets. The number at the end of the wilderness journey is virtually the same as at the beginning, and there would need to be provision in the land of Canaan, already inhabited and long occupied by its own inhabitants, for the addition of the greater part of this three millions of people. Now, all existing data concerning the total population of the land when finally settled by Israel and Judah point to a population of about one million, and even this population represents a density of

about 150 to the square mile, which is nearly twice that of Spain and about the same as that of Denmark or Scotland. Another infelicity reached by comparing the various figures given, with one another, is that the number of the male first-born is 22,273 (Numbers 3:43), and allowing the number of female first-born to be equal, the total number of first-born is 44,546, and, therefore, the total number of Israelites being three millions and upward, the average number of children of a family is about 65. If, as is probable, the first-born of all the mothers is meant (compare Numbers 3:12), then, since the number of first-born and of mothers must have been identical, there were 44,546 mothers, but, the number of women being approximately the same as the men, the women over twenty must also have numbered more than 600,000, and, therefore, only about 1 in 20 or 25 women over twenty were mothers.

There are other difficulties along this same line when we attempt to deal with the actual figures on this greatly enlarged basis. Turning again to the first chapter of the Exodus, the Bible notes the fact that there were two midwives who cared for the necessities of the Hebrew mothers. This very plainly points to the real figures, which cannot be more than one-fortieth of the three millions referred to. In the forces which Pharaoh sends to turn back the Children of Israel, while a reference is made (Ex. 14:7) in a general way to "chariots of Egypt," the definite number stated is that "he took six hundred chosen chariots," this would be a force that could deal with the real numbers of the Exodus, but would be totally out of the question with six hundred thousand fighting men. Reference has already been made to the battle of Rephidim, where it is inconceivable that six hundred thousand fighting men could have been pitted against a few hundreds which the inhabitants of the peninsula could have mustered at any one spot or time. Moreover, when we step beyond these misinterpreted records of the Pentateuch into Judges and Samuel,

we pick up at once a dozen references to bands and armies of six hundred men.

When we come to Sinai, the dimensions of the court around the tent of meeting or the tabernacle, we find it to be 50 to 100 cubits, or 80 to 160 feet. The whole tenor of the narratives would give us the impression that this court had been made large enough to gather in the larger portion of at least all the elderly men. Making allowance for the space occupied by the brazen altar and the tent of meeting, the court itself could not have accommodated more than 1500 to 2000 people. At that same time every mention of the priesthood refers to Aaron as the High Priest, the only one of his order, and placed in charge of the worship, which was conducted in the tent of testimony. The second order of the priesthood included only his two sons, Eliezer and Ithamar, and no other Levites appointed to the priesthood had any right in the first-born of succession to the high priesthood. According to the narrative, these three priests ministered to the needs of the whole congregation, and among the Levitical clans who served in the court of the tabernacle at least two of them had only three members each. Thirty Levites would be a fair estimate, as far as we can judge, of all those admitted to the third order who set up and took down the tabernacle all through the wilderness. Now this proportion of priests and Levites would be sufficient for the real numbers of the Exodus, but physically and absolutely unequal to the needs of three million.

When we approach the question of miracles as recorded in the narratives, we must in all fairness agree that there is nothing in the letter or tone of the narratives themselves which justify us in concluding that the provision of water (as at Rephidim) and quails (as at Kibroth-Hat-taaweh) were on any such scale as would supply the needs of a thirsty and hungry multitude equal to the combined inhabitants of four such cities as Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston and

Baltimore. At the interview between Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses, and at the time of the census, reference is made to the existence of the twelve princes of the twelve tribes of Israel who were at all times in contact with and assisted Moses. When the question arose of appointing other officers to assist in the care of the people and also to take the census of the people, reference is made to the heads of tens and fifties and hundreds and thousands. Now it is a fair and reasonable inference that if the number of people involved had reached into the tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, and even millions, as we understand those figures, there should have been a further extension of the officers who should in some way be responsible for these tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands, whereas the record itself stops at thousands. The reader who wishes the Bible clue to the solution of all these difficulties may simply turn in his revised Bible to the first chapter of the book of Numbers in the sixteenth verse, and note that in the margin the word "thousands" is also translated "families" of Israel. Why the revisers were unwilling to make this same change in a hundred other places in the book of Numbers is a story that has yet to be told. Had they been willing to do so, or had the Christian world been given the same information and suggestion as they have already been given concerning the use of the word "day" in its manifold meanings, we would not to-day be troubled with the endless and useless discussions to which so many references have already been made.

These in outline constitute a cumulative and unanswerable line of arguments which make it impossible for us to any longer interpret the figures of the Exodus according to the popular and mistaken conception of the past centuries, and we can now turn with special pleasure to the simple solution of the greater part of these difficulties.

If this were a volume in which we were answering the more intricate and involved criticisms of those who base

their arguments upon the infinitesimal division of ancient documents, we might place them on the horns of a dilemma. The argument, as will be unfolded later, is that a flat mistake has been made in the translation of the Hebrew word "*alaf*," which is rendered in our English Bible "thousands." If it is argued that the passages in which it occurred are from the oldest or J. E. combination of documents, then we answer that we claim the original meaning to be that of "clan," "house" or "family." If, on the other hand, it is claimed that these figures belong to the P. document, then we claim that the error was made by the author of that document and has been perpetuated to the present day. None of the figures involved are found in the D. document, but, to my mind, the solution is independent of the question of documents, in that it goes back to the fundamental uses of language. If it should be further objected that the revised meaning of this word involves difficulties in other sections of the Bible, and does not solve all the problems involved, I answer that it is, without a proviso, the real key to the numerical difficulties of the Hexateuch, and will, like the word "day" in Genesis, elsewhere be given its proper meaning and dimensions. If we have found a solution to one hundred of a thousand difficult problems, or a key that will open one hundred doors in a hitherto unconquered city, it would be folly to throw away such a key because it will not open every remaining door.

PART II.—THE SOLUTION OF THE DIFFICULTIES

The Hebrew word *alaf*, translated "thousands," is found in the Hexateuch one hundred and nineteen times, and a careful examination of every instance reveals the fact that in at least forty places, without a shade of doubt, it ought to be translated not thousands, but "clans" or "families," where family is used in the larger sense of the word. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, to note

that in Numbers 1:16 the revisers have given the right translation in the margin, and every reason that could be urged for the optional translation at this point can be urged with greater force for the same use of the word in connection with all the census figures of the Children of Israel.

Again, in Judges 6:15, this word *alaf* is used as one of the subdivisions of a tribe, where Gideon says that "his family (Hebrew, 'thousands') is the poorest in Manasseh." Then, in 1 Samuel 10:19, Samuel says to the Children of Israel, "now present yourselves before Jehovah by your tribes and by your thousands"; so Samuel "brought the tribe of Benjamin near by their families and the family of the Matrites was taken," where family is plainly a synonym of "thousands" or "clan." In 1 Samuel 23:23 Saul in pursuing David to kill him says, "I will search him out among all the thousands (margin, 'families') of Israel." And once more in the famous Messianic prophecy of Micah 5:1, "but thou Bethlehem Ephrata which are little to be among the thousands (margin, 'families') of Judah."

Here, then, are four clear instances outside of the Hexateuch which point unmistakably to the Bible meaning of the word *alaf* as understood and made use of by the writers of that day. These also point back to the undeniable fact that this double meaning was in common use at the time these original manuscripts were written. There is no good reason then why the other meaning of the word "families" or "clans" should not be used to solve these difficulties in Exodus and Numbers, when to translate it as meaning tens of thousands results in such insuperable difficulties.

A careful re-reading of the Hexateuch will make clear to any reasonable mind that tribes and families were the important units and not simply members, and the same is true until the present hour among the Arabs of the desert. The great tribes are often named as "sons of the rock" or "sons of Saad" or "sons of Sud," where the proper name may be a natural feature of the land in which they

dwell, the name of some great ancestor or some quality which the tribe glories in. The tribes are then divided into many clans, and most frequently they are named from some hero whose descendants within the tribe are always spoken of as "children of Saad," or whatever the name of their great ancestor may be. In Arab warfare no great importance is attached to the loss of a single member from these various families or clans which make up the great tribe, but when, by any unusual occurrence, any one of these families or clans is wiped out, it is reckoned a great calamity. Blood feuds almost always exist between great tribes, but not infrequently the various clans of a tribe are separated from each other temporarily, or permanently, by reason of bloodshed. Such divisions are not unknown in European and western countries; the vendetta in Italy and the feuds in Kentucky are cases in point. Therefore the claim is now made with all confidence that the root of all these numerical difficulties in connection with the Exodus lies in the fact that compilers and redactors and translators have failed to note the original meaning of the word "*alaf*," and by translating every instance uniformly with the English word "thousands" have landed us in endless difficulties.

Much light has been thrown upon this problem by the usage of the greatest living Semitic language, that is, the Arabic. In all Arabic lexicons and grammars every derived form, whether verb, noun or adjective, is referred back to a triliteral root, which, as far as the dictionaries and grammars are concerned, is always the third person singular, past tense,—he struck, he wrote and so forth; there is a discussion among the grammarians themselves as to whether this particular form of verb, or another participle called the *musdar*, is the absolute root, but there is no question as to the fact that the verb and not the noun is regarded as the original root form. In Arabic exactly the same word, *elf* (thousand) and *alaf* (thousands), is used, and when we wish to consult any Arabic dictionary

concerning the meaning or usage of this word, we look up the triliteral root, *a-la-fa*, and find that it means, first of all, "to keep or cleave to a place or thing"; the next derivative is "to become familiar (sociable) with," that is, "allied to." Then follows the idea of a uniting or putting together two things and of several parts of anything, as, for example, the ideas or parts in the composition of books, and ultimately the putting of many things into such a state that one name may be applicable to them, whether some of the parts have a relation to others by precedence or sequence, or not. At this stage the word *elf* or *alaf* was used to designate a clan or family, and its hundred derivations are to this day used for a state of union or alliance or congregation. It is this meaning of the word in the Hebrew that is used in Numbers 1:4, "every one head of his father's house," and 1:16, "heads of the thousands of Israel," and 1 Samuel 10:19, "by your tribes and by your thousands," and the best English equivalent is the word "clan," because in both Hebrew and Arabic the meaning is sometimes the larger and sometimes the smaller division of the tribe. When in Arabic the word *elf* was applied specifically to number, it meant originally a certain number, a well-known number, a certain round number, but it cannot be too insistently emphasized that in its original application to numbers it had no real connection with the definite number that we now know as tens of hundreds, and in later times, when specifically it meant tens of hundreds, this second meaning marched side by side with the other meaning of clan or family. Both in Hebrew and in Arabic there is not only a numerical value to the larger numbers, but also a rhetorical, philosophical and theological meaning. An instance of this is seen in Genesis 24:60, where the brothers of Rebecca said unto her, "our sister be thou the mother of thousands of millions," according to the Authorized Version, but which in the Revised Version has been trans-

lated "thousands of tens of thousands," and up to this present hour in the living Arabic language there exists the same confusion among Moslem and Christian writers in the use of this word translated tens of thousands.

Another fact to be borne in mind is that in the oldest Hebrew writing known, the Siloam inscription dating from the days of Hezekiah, the numbers are written in full in words. The same is true of the Moabite stone, and we know of no other writing or inscription to the contrary. While we may not dogmatically decide that figures or letters were not used numerically, the whole weight of evidence is in favor of all Old Testament numbers having been written out in full as is the case in all Bible translations, figures alone are never employed. Had it been otherwise, a part of the strength of our argument would have been placed in jeopardy.

Turning again to the Scriptures, we find that all Israel is everywhere reckoned as being made up of the twelve tribes. Now there is abundant evidence also that the tribes were divided into smaller subdivisions, which in many instances are spoken of as families. There is, however, an objection to our use of the word "family" in this discussion, unless we understand clearly that in the Scriptures the word "family" is used for larger or smaller groups connected by blood and marriage, from the family in its narrowest sense, that is, a man with his wife, or wives, and children, and sometimes his mother—to the widest aggregate of kinsfolk between whom relationship is traced; so that the word "family" frequently is used for all the larger divisions running through the clan, the tribe, the nation, and even the human race. There is also the further objection to the use of the word "family" instead of clan; the fact that in our most modern usage it is apt to suggest the family in its narrowest sense, that is, the father, mother and children of one household, therefore I prefer to make use of the word "clan" in translating the word thousand,

and we have abundant authority for this particular use. For example, Numbers 3: 17 mentions the three sons of Levi: Gershon, Kohath and Merari. Gershon's sons are then mentioned as Libni and Shemei. Then in verse 21 the family of the Libnites is spoken of, and the family of the Shemeites, and this is exactly the meaning of the word clan which I have preferred. In just the same way Kohath's four sons are mentioned, and Merari's two sons, each of whom gives his name to a clan or family.

The number of tribes was fixed at twelve and remained *there* throughout their history. When Joseph's two children, Ephraim and Manasseh, were recognized as separate tribes, the number of twelve was again reached by omitting the tribe of Levi. Among the reasons for this and the justification for setting the Levites apart, as the priests and the religious division of the Children of Israel, is the fact that Moses was of the tribe of Levi, and that his descendants were thus given a special function; although in order to account for the larger numbers of the tribe of Levi it has also been suggested that this tribe was largely recruited from the other tribes by those who devoted themselves to these peculiarly religious functions. The real crux, therefore, of the problem of the numbers centers in the two census lists which are found in the first and twenty-sixth chapters of the book of Numbers. They stand as follows:¹

TABLE "A"

	NUM. I	NUM. XXVI
Reuben.....	46,500	43,730
Simeon.....	59,300	22,200
Gad.....	45,650	40,500
Judah.....	74,600	76,500
Issachar.....	54,400	64,300
Zebulun.....	57,400	60,500
Ephraim.....	40,500	M. 52,700
Manasseh.....	32,200	E. 32,500
Benjamin.....	35,400	45,600
Dan.....	62,700	64,400
Asher.....	41,500	53,400
Naphtali.....	53,400	45,400

¹ "P. R. S.," p. 209.

This is the list as it stands in the Biblical record, and the only difference between the first chapter and the twenty-sixth, as far as the order is concerned, is that Ephraim and Manasseh have changed places. It may be that only the names are reversed and not the numbers, seeing that they agree more nearly as they stand. Between the two lists is a space of between 30 to 40 years, because the first census was made at Sinai and the second on the plains of Moab. The difference between the two lists on general principles may easily be explained by the changes incident upon fighting and intermarrying. There is nothing on the face of the lists calling for special explanation, but in order to make clear what we are seeking for we will rearrange the lists according to their size numerically.

TABLE "B"

Manasseh.....	32,200	22,200	Simeon.
Simeon.....	59,300	64,300	Issachar.
Benjamin.....	35,400	45,400	Naphtali.
Naphtali.....	53,400	53,400	Asher.
Issachar.....	54,400	64,400	Dan.
Zebulun.....	57,400	32,500	Ephraim.
Ephraim.....	40,500	40,500	Gad.
Asher.....	41,500	60,500	Zebulun.
Reuben.....	46,500	76,500	Judah.
Judah.....	74,600	45,600	Benjamin.
Gad.....	45,650	52,700	Manasseh.
Dan.....	62,700	43,730	Reuben.
	<u>603,550</u>	<u>601,730</u>	

Note first that there is not a single round thousand in either list, note also that there is not a single hundred, eight hundred or nine hundred, but that the greater part of the numbers fall on four hundred or five hundred. Seeing that the number of tribes has been fixed, it is easily conceivable that while the number of clans would also be known, even though in the vicissitudes of the wilderness journey some of those clans might have been wiped out, and others, for various reasons, subdivided, the number of individuals connected with those clans

would, of necessity, be the most difficult and uncertain item of all. This fact is easily paralleled by the conditions existing in this part of the world to-day not only among the tribes of the desert, but even among the city dwellers. For example, in the town of Zahleh the present Lebanon Government claims taxes from 2100 able-bodied men; 1400 of these, or two-thirds, are assigned to the Greek Catholic sect and the remaining 700 are divided among the Maronites, the Greek Orthodox and the Protestants. These numbers are again subdivided by the families who make up the inhabitants of the town. Among the Greek Catholics are three large families who claim more than a thousand of these fourteen hundred units, and they jealously guard their fixed proportion even though each unit involves a certain amount of taxes which they willingly pay independent of the fact as to whether their men are present or absent. This they do because their rights in government circles at the time of elections and distribution of offices and honors depend upon their number. Now, the point to which I draw your attention in this modern instance, which could be duplicated in any of the Arab tribes, is this: that the proportion belonging to the various sects remains unchanged and the numbers which they claim are fixed, while it would be impossible at any time to find out the real number of able-bodied men in the town or the number of those actually present.

Glancing again at the table B and noting the columns of thousands begin in the one list at 32 and end at 62, and on the earlier other list at 22 and end at 43 in connection with the even hundreds, there is apparently some cause, whatever it may be, affecting the hundreds in each list. Taking the digits from both lists and arranging them in their natural order we have the following results:

TABLE "C"

				4	5					
				4	5					
				4	5					
				4	5					
				4	5	6	7			
		2	3	4	5	6	7			
	none	2	3	4	5	6	7	none		
digits	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Now the argument which comes in at this point is a mathematical one, and to minds trained in the more recondite use of figures there is in this arrangement irresistible evidence that the hundreds in these census lists have an origin entirely independent of the thousands. "The probability of such a distribution occurring by chance has more than a thousand to one against it." For example, if we should take the directory of the city of New York or the city of London and choose the names of the twelve largest families in that directory, if then we should proceed to count carefully the number of individuals which could be grouped in these twelve families, it is mathematically inconceivable that we should reach a series of figures in which a single hundred or the eight hundred or the nine hundred should not appear, and the reason would be that in this example the hundreds are *not independent* of the thousands.

Proceeding, therefore, with our claims, that the word *alaf* has two meanings, "thousand," and "clan" or family, then the list might be read that Manasseh was made up of thirty-two clans of two hundred able-bodied men, and Simeon of 59 clans of 300 able-bodied men and so through the list. In order to test this supposition, let us again rearrange the tribes and their figures according to the order given in the Bible. If the thousands have no connection with the hundreds other than the mere numerical connection, as supposed in the example from the city dictionaries, then the supposition will be nullified by the absurd results reached in dividing the number of able-bodied

men by the number of clans, which, in turn, has a direct bearing upon the number of tents and the total number of people going out in the Exodus.

TABLE "D"

	Census 1.			Census 2.		
	Clans.	Numbers.	Per clan.	Clans.	Numbers.	Per clan.
Reuben.....	46	500	9	43	730	17
Simeon.....	59	300	5	22	200	9
Gad.....	45	650	14	40	500	12
Judah.....	74	600	8	76	500	7
Issachar.....	54	400	7	64	300	5
Zebulun.....	57	400	7	60	500	8
Ephraim.....	40	500	12	32	500	16
Manasseh.....	32	200	6	52	700	13
Benjamin.....	35	400	11	45	600	13
Dan.....	62	700	11	64	400	6
Asher.....	41	500	12	53	400	8
Naphtali.....	53	400	8	45	400	9
	598	5550	9.3	596	5730	9.6

We have here added the thousands separately, and in the first census there are 598 and in the second 596. The able-bodied men, then, adding the hundreds alone, according to the first census are 5550, and according to the second census, 5730. It will be noticed also that in the column giving the average of able-bodied men in each section the smallest number is 5 and the greatest number is 17, and that the average in the first census is $9\frac{3}{10}$ and the average in the second census is $9\frac{6}{10}$.

It can easily be shown from various Egyptian inscriptions about the time of the Exodus, and especially in the lists of mining expeditions to the district about Sinai, that the division of workmen and officers into groups of ten was a custom that the Children of Israel would easily have learned in Egypt and carried with them into the wilderness. In a long list of a hundred foremen of miners every tenth man is called *mer sa* ("P. R. S.," p. 116), and the nine men after him were his following. This same general division is one that also is found in military affairs all through human history. Supposing, then, that while

the Children of Israel were still in bondage they had been divided into sections of ten able-bodied men by their own Hebrew overseers, it is more than probable that they would have carried this system with them into the wilderness. In a distinctly military system the decimals are kept up artificially, but in a family organization, such as the Children of Israel were, the variation to be noted after a lapse of thirty-eight or forty years would easily parallel those to be noted in the table "D," where the (heads) of the clans ranged from 5 to 17.¹

Testing the figures again in "B," the only three tribes which seem to have more than the ordinary variations between the first and second census are Simeon, Manasseh and Dan. And here the Bible record comes clearly to our aid. It was a man of the tribe of Simeon (Numbers 25: 14) whose sin caused the plague, and it was the Simeonites who suffered most, reducing the men from 300 to 200 and wiping out 37 of the clans. In Manasseh there is a rapid rise from 32 to 52 clans and 200 to 700 men, and in Dan a fall from 700 to 400. This might be explained on the basis that a large proportion of the daughters in Dan married into Manasseh.

Now, a careful examination of the present Biblical figures reveals another curious fact, that at some time in the later history, after the error was made in the meaning of *alaf*, other redactors attempted to bring the numbers into harmony on this impossible basis and made matters worse. In Exodus 12: 37, apparently the oldest and most accurate account of the Exodus, it speaks of the round numbers of 600 clans (thousands) "that were men besides children" leaving Egypt on foot. When these were more carefully counted at Sinai they proved to be 598 clans or groups and

¹ Petrie's referring these figures to "tents" and "individuals" is a curious slip, because the Bible (Ex. 12: 37; Num. 1: 18, 45; 2: 32, etc.) refers to men of war, able-bodied men, and this is exactly in accord with Oriental usages of all ages (Matt. 15: 38), and up to the present hour men are listed and numbered, but women and children never.

with 5550 men over twenty years of age. The "six-hundred thousand and *three* thousand" of Numbers 1:46 and the "six hundred thousand and *a* thousand" of Numbers 26:51 have been reached by the overzealous hand of the redactor, with the curious result that at the end of the Exodus the Children of Israel were 601,730 persons, which is less than they were at the beginning, 603,550, the reverse of what was probably the fact. But when the clans are counted separately, as in table "D," we actually find that while there were 598 clans with 5550 men of war in the beginning, there were more at the end, 5730, though the clans had been reduced to 596.

Petrie ("R. S.," p. 213) views these totals (5550 and 5730) as the *probable numbers of the Children of Israel* at the beginning and end of the Exodus, but, as before referred to, he does not seem to have noted that these Bible figures are *males over twenty years of age*, the failure to do so preventing him from reconciling the census of the Levites as found in Numbers 3 and 4, whereas the numbers of the Children of Israel must have been more than ten times as many, as will appear from the following simple calculation: Taking the first census (Numbers 1:24) as 5550 men, "from twenty years old and upward all that were *able to go forth to war*," we have several lines of argument possible. We must agree that there were at least an equal number of able-bodied women, making 11,100 persons. Taking well-known European statistics, which could not possibly be in advance of the well-known productiveness of the Hebrew households, we may easily claim 50,000 persons as a minimum estimate of the Children of Israel exclusive of Levites, who were not included in this census. But even this figure (50,000) must be considerably enlarged for another reason. It is distinctly stated in Numbers 1:20 that the figures include "every male from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war," and this specific limitation is reiterated in connection with every one of the twelve

tribes numbered, and again with the totals in verse 45. The emphasis is laid upon those who were "able to go forth to war." I have taken the trouble to make a careful comparison of the relation of the proportion which exists between those available for military duty and the total population of seven of the modern European nations. These modern governments divide their able-bodied men into their standing armies and reserves, which two divisions make up their total war strength. In addition to this they take careful note of all the men that remain who are available for duty, although unorganized. This examination reveals the fact that Austria claims one in every six of her total population as "able to go forth to war," Germany one in ten, France one in twelve, Russia one in sixteen, Italy one in eighteen and Great Britain, which relies more largely on its fleet, one in twenty-two. The average of these seven nations "able to go forth to war" is one in every fourteen of the total population. Now I believe that human nature and social conditions did not vary much throughout the ages, and that it is a perfectly justifiable step to make use of this modern average in dealing with the Bible figures concerning the Children of Israel; therefore, taking the 5550 able-bodied men, which represents the sum of the hundreds in table "D," and multiplying these figures by 14, as obtained above, we get at once at least 77,700, which, increased by the Levites, gives us a total of almost 100,000 souls; and this number I am convinced, from a large number of subsidiary lines of argument, will be found substantially correct. These minor arguments will be referred to in many places in the chapters which concern in detail the route of the Exodus. It may be remarked here, even though the special problem of the Levites lies outside the scope of this book, that this apparently larger number assigned to the Levites may be explained as constituting the main support of Moses after his dealings with the rebellious and troublesome clans of all the

other tribes. It has been remarked that the tribe of Levi was the tribe of Moses himself, and that naturally the members of this tribe would support Moses in every time of difficulty, just as the clans of any successful Highland chieftain would rally round his banner. Moreover, as has been suggested in various connections, if intermarriage between tribes was allowed in Egypt and during the Exodus, it is certain that the trend of all possible marriage alliances would be toward the strongest section of the Children of Israel. It has been further suggested that the function of the Levites and their relations to the people were to some extent a matter of choice, and this again would foster the same movement toward amalgamating with the largest and strongest division of the people.

If this reasoning is sound, we have thereby completely disposed of the difficulty which confronts us in the third chapter of Numbers, where the sum of the Levites ("all the males from a month old and upward") were twenty and two thousand, and where the details concerning the various clans prohibit our translating the word *alaf* by "clans" instead of "thousands." It also opens the door for the satisfactory solution of what was a difficulty in Numbers 3: 43, where it is said that "all the first-born males according to the number of names, from a month old and upward of those that were numbered of them (the Children of Israel) were twenty and two thousand and three score and thirteen." This estimate of all the first-born males in Israel I believe to be a much older item of statistics than the cumbrous and garbled attempt to harmonize the number of Levites with this figure.¹

Commentators have found it impossible to harmonize

¹Numbers 3: 22 says the families of the Gershonites were 7500, the families of the Kohathites were 8600 and the families of Merari were 6200, which equal 22,300, but the 39th verse gives the total of all these males "from a month old and upward" as twenty and two thousand, which suggests and confirms the fact that these figures have at some time been tampered with and left in this confused condition.

these figures of the first-born in Israel with the mistaken three million estimate for the total population (see p. 168). There is just as great a difficulty in harmonizing it with the estimates of those (see Petrie, "R. S.," p. 211) who take the numbers in table "D" as the totals for the Children of Israel. But a little thought will clearly show that they are in complete harmony with our revised estimate, which makes the number of the Children of Israel somewhere near 100,000 souls. If we take our modern estimate of the average modern family as 5, we instantly get at least 20,000 first-born. If it be objected that this calculation leaves no place for childless families or families in which there were no male children, I would answer by pointing out at least two other considerations which have not been noted in any of the discussions that I have ever read on this subject, and they are these: (1) I believe that the figure 5 for the average Hebrew family would be too small, and if in objection to this it was pointed out that the larger average would reduce the numbers of the first-born, I would point out that the Bible plainly declares in many instances the existence of more than one wife and mother in the household, and that the law of the first-born would apply to every mother who bore a child, this fact making plainly for the possible accuracy of the figures involved, but (2) this census includes "all the first-born males from the Children of Israel from a month old and upward;" therefore, in every family where there are male children there was one first-born, but in many instances there must have been two first-born and possibly three, because there was not only the first-born child, but the father and grandfather each may have been the first-born in his own father's household, and the census plainly includes *all* the first-born. Mathematically, taking the average family at 5 (which means father, mother and three children), we are perfectly justified in saying that at least one out of every five families contained two first-born, that is, the father and the son, and this gives every

needed possibility for harmonizing 22,273 first-born with the corrected estimate of 100,000 as the number of the Children of Israel who came out of Egypt.

It might also be remarked here for the sake of those who may find a difficulty in letting go of the exaggerated numbers which have played a part in our mental conceptions since our childhood, to recall another fact, that it was not the great numbers in the Anabasis (10,000 Greeks), who marched up from the coast to the sea, nor the Moslem Hegira (departure) (150 persons), nor the great number on board the Mayflower (102 souls), which made these movements famous and momentous in history, but the principles, moral and spiritual, which led and sustained these soldiers and pilgrims through their dangers and vicissitudes; so also is it true in the matter of the Exodus, its importance for our race lies not in its numbers, great or small, but in the message of God's truth which they carried in their breasts.

Summing up, then, (1) linguistically there can be no escape from the twofold meaning which the word "*elf*" or "*alaf*" bears in the Hebrew and cognate Semitic languages; (2) the Bible itself confirms and makes use of both these meanings, and all existing manuscripts and modern versions make no use of either figures or numerical letters in the transmission of these numbers; (3) the numbers of the Children of Israel were somewhere about 100,000 souls, and these figures will be found to fit in satisfactorily with the conditions in Egypt before the Exodus, with the conditions and possibilities through the Exodus itself, and supply all the requirements for the growth and extension of the kingdom after the Exodus; (4) the greatest Biblical difficulty concerning the number of the Levites and the first-born of Israel receives a satisfactory solution, and finally the door is opened and the clue is given for dealing with a series of difficulties involved with the improbable numbers in the book of Judges and the historical books of the monarchy.

To give a single instance, in 1 Samuel 6: 19 it is recorded that Jehovah "smote all the men of Bethshemesh because they had looked into the ark of Jehovah; he smote of the people seventy men and fifty thousand men, and the people mourned." Neither Jewish history nor archæological research have ever given the slightest credence to the supposition involved that a large city ever existed in the territory or at the location known as Bethshemesh, but the whole difficulty vanishes when we read that 70 men were killed, which resulted in the wiping out of fifty clans or families. The most natural inference in the world is that the men, and not the women and the children, were concerned in this act of disobedience which resulted in condign punishment.

CHAPTER XV

THE PROBLEM OF THE MOUNTAIN OF THE LAW

HAVING now reached the new and more reasonable figure (100,000 souls) as the number of those who escaped in the Exodus, we have an entirely new element in connection with this ancient problem. In this ancient district of Horeb or Sinai there is, roughly speaking, a triangle composed of three groups of barren, rugged and majestic peaks, among which, without doubt, took place those wonderful events connected with the transformation of the Children of Israel from the bond-servants of the Egyptian Pharaohs to the people of Israel through the giving of the Law. The first group on the northwestern corner of the triangle reaches its greatest height in Jebel Serbal (6731 feet), a sublime peak fairly overhanging the Oasis of Feiran. Twenty miles away by air line, east by south, is a second group which contains two famous peaks, Jebel Musa (7362 feet), and about three miles south of it, Jebel Katharine (8538 feet), the highest point in the peninsula. A little further to the southwest rises the third and last group of this irregular triangle, where towers Jebel Um-Shomar, the "watch" or guard, which is over 8000 feet high. This latter peak is the one pointed out and seen by all travellers from India and the East who pass up through the Red Sea to Suez.

There is no tradition connected with Um-Shomar nor with Jebel Katharine; the rival traditional sites are connected with Jebel Serbal and Jebel Musa. A number of ancient writers and traditions claim the distinction for Serbal; other more modern writers, and most especially

Robinson, have chosen the vicinity of Jebel Musa as the camping-place and the scene of the giving of the Law.

I would again remind the reader of the impossibility and the futility of attempting to fix upon absolute sites for any of the Bible scenes in either the Old or the New Testament; I would remind him here that these rival sites for the Mountain of the Law are at most only twenty miles apart, and even if scholars can never agree concerning details, it surely should not militate against the general consensus and agreement in regard to the whole district, and more especially since, as in the case of Rephidim, we may easily point out more than one possible location for the events in question. I would also remind the reader of this curious tendency in human nature to select the highest or most conspicuous or the grandest spot as the fittest for the events involved, but, as we well know concerning other great events in peace and war, the supreme struggle does not always take place at the most convenient or the most artistic spot. I am convinced also by a careful re-reading of the Bible records on the spot, that we are not obliged to identify locally the main camp, much less all the camps of the Children of Israel with the scene of the theophanies on the mountain top. Past identifications have all been hampered by the supposition that all the tents and all the people stood in front of the mountain.

Now, where there are expressions which might seem, taken literally, to imply or require this view, I believe we must deal with them on exactly the same basis as we deal with such expressions in any modern language, remembering that the figurative and imaginative element is much larger and much more powerful than in any of our modern languages. We say of a recent great event that all London, all England, and all the world watched the great Coronation pageant as it moved from the palace through the city of London and back to the palace again. Perhaps less than a million of London people saw the sight, and the other four



El Buwaib—Eastern entrance to the Oasis of Feiran

millions were going about their myriad duties as usual. And we have no reason to believe that the other districts of Great Britain, much less of the world, were depopulated on that particular day.

Therefore we are not obliged of necessity to seek for any location where millions, much less even a hundred thousand souls agreed upon, could pitch their tents and collect their cattle. As a matter of fact, there are locations both about Serbal and Sinai where every human being of these corrected figures could assemble and stand with comfort in full view of the top of either Serbal or Sinai.

Moreover, many of the discussions seem to have no conception of the spaces required for the ordinary Arab encampments with their flocks. I have seen such encampments where a hundred tents or houses were stretched across a plain for a distance of two or even three miles, and the reason is a simple one: many of these modern Arab tribes, which contain, say, 100 to 200 human souls, will have fifty or a hundred times as many sheep and goats and camels and other animals; therefore, to avoid the strife between the herdsmen, which is as old as the days of Abraham and Lot, they must of necessity spread out their tents in order to provide space for the flocks that make up the larger part of the whole encampment. Therefore it is childish and really absurd to think of the tents of the Children of Israel as placed in regular lines and close together in the fashion of a camp meeting or the parade-ground of some modern militia. I was led there on the spot, through the reading of the records, combined with my knowledge of larger Arab life elsewhere, together with the actual customs and habits of the Bedawin of Sinai to-day, to a view which I think will go far to solve the difficulties urged against both traditional locations and the camp of the theophanies, and to reconcile what is really valuable in both. No proper notice has been taken hitherto of certain necessities of all Arab encampments

and of the large wide spaces which exist between the oasis and the traditional Sinai, and which I shall point out very clearly in the photographs which accompany this chapter.

I pointed out in connection with the photograph of el Buwaib the donkeys which had come two, three, or even four hours from little clusters of Arab tents in the lonely valleys away from the main roads, and if such a body of people as the Children of Israel (reckoning them only at 100,000 instead of 3,000,000) with their flocks should enter the Wady Feiran at the present day they would easily fill the oasis with their tents and extend for a distance of ten miles in other directions, into every valley or level space where they could pitch their tents.

Again, if, as I have repeated so often, the water fixes the route and the camping-places, then, of all the camping-places between Egypt and the Promised Land, the two most important are at Sinai, where they spent eleven months, and Kadesh Barnea, about which they remained for thirty-seven years, and of absolute necessity these must have contained abundance of water. The Arabs, even in the desert, will always choose a valley or gulley in which to camp; the higher stretches of every desert are swept by powerful winds, and the valley, no matter how small, gives shade at morning and evening, and in all but the most arid deserts hopes of water by digging in the sand. Therefore, with the desert and the Oasis of Feiran before our eyes with its abundance of sparkling water, which in those days may have fed rich stretches of pasturage instead of the waving palm trees, its towering cliffs and valleys giving shade at almost every hour of the day, it is simply inconceivable that Moses, great leader, great law-giver, great general, great ruler, should have led his host of hungry people with their thirsty flocks through this marvelous oasis and beyond it to the colder, higher plains above.

Another important fact that has been completely lost sight of is that of elevation. The vale of Elim is close to



Serbal with its jagged ridge
Serbal—seen from Wady Selaf

the sea-level. The floor of the valley at Maghareh, as we pointed out, is about 1000 feet above the sea, and the central section of the Oasis at Feiran a little over 2000 feet. Between this spot and the head of the water is another rise of 300 feet, and the southern entrance of this matchless oasis at el Buwaib is 2450 feet. A swift messenger might reach Sinai in five or six hours, though for our slow-plodding baggage camels, winding through longer and easier routes, it occupied parts of two days; but whether by the longer or shorter route, it involves the overcoming of another 3000 *feet of elevation*. The point at which we crossed the water-shed, some five hours beyond the oasis, marked 4000 feet on our barometers. We dropped a little and camped at 3700 feet, and the next day climbed through one of the most sublime defiles of all the world over the pass of 4900 feet to the other traditional camping-place, which is 5000 feet above the sea, an absolutely arid desert plain, with the nearest reasonable water-supply at least a day's journey to the west. Again I repeat, that as far as the main camping-place of the Children of Israel in that desert is concerned, it is inconceivable that Moses could ever have led the Children of Israel and their flocks away from the Oasis of Feiran. It is not, however, inconceivable that portions of the great encampment might have occupied every level space between the oasis and the traditional Sinai, even though their flocks were almost daily led back to the abundant waters of the oasis. Moreover, when one passes beyond the limits of the oasis to the water-shed between Serbal and Sinai and looks upward into that matchless grandeur of those rugged peaks of granite, rosy beneath the rising or setting sun, one will be willing from overwhelming sentiment to hope that amid their overmastering grandeur we might locate the tabernacle and the theophanies, even though the encampment with the flocks must for ever remain, through the necessities of nature, in the oasis below. Therefore, my suggested solution of

this problem proceeds upon the separation of the main camp or water-supply from the location of the Mountain of the Law.

It is true that in God's providence the Jewish people, even though possessing in their Scriptures all the facts known to us to-day concerning the Exodus and the country of the Exodus, did not make pilgrimages to Sinai or regard as sacred any location but Jerusalem, and all the Hebrew legislation of later centuries was opposed to pilgrimages to any spot except the Temple at Jerusalem. It remained, therefore, for the Christian Church to search out and locate these ancient events. Hence, when we come to compare the various claims of Serbal and Sinai, we must confess that the weight of traditional evidence is decidedly in favor of Serbal. And the reason is not far to seek. Absolutely apart from every denominational difference of Coptic, Greek and Latin Christianity, as also Moslem preference or tradition, are the incontrovertible facts of the oasis and its waters over which the Children of Israel waged their very first battle. Then there is the almost as important item of the elevation, and finally of the necessary spaces for such an encampment as that of the Children of Israel may have been, all of which are in favor of the location at the Oasis of Feiran. Here must have been the main camp. Then in Christian times the same natural necessity (which is the existence of water) also fixed the location of the city of Pharan at the oasis. In the absence of any absolute knowledge of the location of the Mountain of the Law, and in the rivalry that prevailed in those days as in our own concerning sacred sites at Jerusalem, they were led by a natural desire to have the mountain near at hand to fix upon Serbal near by their city, and this easily explains the cells and ruins of monasteries about its base and on its summit. Hence for centuries controversy has continued concerning the two localities. Serbal easily holds its own as the place for the en-



Wide space beyond Serbal, Jebel el Bint in center



Wide space an hour beyond el Buwaib

campment, but fails in providing a reasonable location for the great assemblage before the Mountain of the Law. Sinai lacks all the necessities of the encampment, but provides an ideal Mountain of the Law.

Dr. Robinson's suggestion and theory concerning the Plain of er Rahah is based upon three considerations: first, a prominent mountain summit overlooking the place where the people stood; second, a space sufficiently adjacent to the mountain for so large a multitude to stand and behold the panorama at the summit; and third, the relation between the space where the people stood and the base of the mountain should have been such that they could approach and stand at "the nether part of the mountain," and, therefore, that they could touch the mountain, which necessitated its delimitation lest they should approach.

The first specification absolutely rules out the traditional peak Jebel Musa, even though it is revered by the Greek Orthodox Christians and the Moslems. But it fits admirably the peak Ras es Sufsafeh as seen in the Figures 38, 42, 43 and 44.

The second requirement (a great space sufficiently large and adjacent to the mountain for so large a multitude) is fulfilled beyond a peradventure. Even granting for the moment the impossible numbers which Dr. Robinson had in mind, there is still abundant room for such a multitude where they could stand and behold the panorama at the summit. There is no such open space in close proximity to Serbal.

The third specification of a mountain so steep that people could approach its nether part and, if necessary touch it, is one that is fulfilled to the letter (see Fig. 42) in the simple grandeur of the peak es Sufsafeh, at the sloping base of the Plain of er Rahah.

Thus I believe we are able to give due weight to the natural features of the situation and of the apparently

conflicting traditions, each right in one way and wrong in another. The oasis and Serbal claim the camp, but this inner shrine of Sinai is the Mountain of the Law.

After I had worked out in my own mind this line of reasoning practically in favor of the oasis as the location of the main camp and Sinai for the giving of the Law, I noticed what I had possibly read but completely forgotten, that Dr. Robinson, choosing the route from Suez by way of Serabît, had never seen, much less passed through, the Oasis of Feiran. Had he done so, judging from his shrewd, keen, careful observation of facts, guided by the linguistic and other help of Dr. Eli Smith, he would perhaps have reached almost the same conclusion herein advanced. Because after having examined and having measured the Plain of er Rahah, with his meager and imperfect knowledge of the archæological treasures then partially known, but wholly undeciphered and unexplained, he did add this interesting and comprehensive remark: "The examination of this afternoon convinces us that here (in the Plain of er Rahah) was space enough to satisfy all the requirements of the Scriptural narrative so far as it relates to the assembling of the congregation and receiving the Law. Here one can see the fitness of the injunction to set bounds around the mount that neither man nor beast might approach too near. The encampment before the mount, as has been before suggested, might not improbably include only the headquarters of Moses with the elders and a portion of the people, while the remainder with their flocks were scattered among the adjacent valleys."

I am ready to add that this view not only accords with all the facts concerned, but also with every requirement of sentiment and religion and custom as practiced in a thousand examples of holy places, tombs and shrines and ancient temples, that after locating the main camp at Feiran and the adjacent valleys, Moses and the elders moved *onward* and *upward* more than 3000 feet into this matchless amphi-



Plain of er Rahah and the "Mountain of the Law." The Monastery of St. Katharine lies in the Valley in the center of the picture

theater of primeval granite, and that there the tabernacle was conceived and erected, and that there all the impressive ceremonies, human and divine, took place, amid surroundings well worthy of Hebrew law and of all that has come to pass since in Hebrew Christian history.

Turning now to the photographs, which in the light of all that has been said will add other elements of confirmation to this discussion of the problem, a glance at Panorama 23, taken from the high central mound of the oasis called el Muharrad, gives us a valley which leads in twenty minutes to the base of Serbal, a part of whose summit appears as the most remote peak to the right and center of the picture. The highest peak of Serbal appears as a little tip in the dip between two dark masses on the right of the picture, but one cannot approach so as to touch it as at Sinai.

Panorama 30 gives almost the same view from a point much farther back in order to show this isolated hill (el Muharrad) on which anciently stood, in all probability, the most important monastic establishment of the ancient city, looking up the same valley and conveying a still larger view of the peaks of Serbal as seen in the extreme right of this picture. Now a ride or a walk of less than an hour through the dense growth of the oasis carries one beyond the fountain head into the large sloping plain which stretches gently upward to the gateway of Buwaib.

Figure 34 gives the first full view of the rugged multi-peaked summit of Serbal, and Figure 35 gives another and more distant view from a point beyond the Wady Selaf. Here is camping-ground for perhaps half of the corrected estimate of 100,000 souls.

Panorama 36 gives still another view of this same wide space, but Serbal has vanished from view behind the mass of granite at the left. The other multi-peaked mountain of the center of the picture is Jebel el Benat, not more than five miles away on the opposite or southern side of the oasis.

Panorama 37 is another large open space an hour or so beyond el Buwaib, in which other large numbers of tent dwellers could find space for their tents and their flocks, and all within reasonable distance of the abundant water of the oasis.

Figures 39 and 40 give forward and backward views in the magnificent gateway through Nagb el Hawa to the Plain of er Rahah, and Panorama 38, a wonderful view of the plain itself, with Ras es Sufsafeh in the center and the Monastery of St. Katharine nestling in the deep notch at its left-hand base.

This, then, in my judgment, is a solution of the problem. The main camp of the Israelites and the main water-supply were at the oasis. Smaller sections were accommodated in the valleys and level spaces for ten or fifteen miles beyond, and the great natural temple, in which stood the tabernacle, and where occurred the giving of the Law, might most appropriately have been this sublime, awe-inspiring location in the very heart of Sinai.



Backward Glimpse from the top of Nagb el Hawa
Another bit farther up

CHAPTER XVI

FROM THE OASIS OF FEIRAN TO THE MONASTERY OF ST. KATHARINE AT SINAI

I HAVE described in a general way the route from Feiran to Sinai and as far as el Buwaib in detail. From this point there are two routes to the Monastery; the longer one follows the great trunk valley of Feiran and Wady esh Sheikh and is much the easier for heavily laden animals. Those who choose the shorter route leave the Wady esh Sheikh about fifteen minutes beyond el Buwaib, and, keeping to the right, enter Wady Selaif, through which they wind for fully six hours before they reach the open plateau in front of Nagb el Hawa. We took still another route by following Wady esh Sheikh for two hours to its junction with Wady es Sahab, and then through that valley for another three hours to the same plateau in front of Nagb el Hawa. This is not the usual route, and we were a little at a loss to understand why our cameleers preferred it, but later on we suspected that some of them did not want to pass Wady er Rimm, up which was the encampment of the great sheikh, who later visited us at Sinai. Shortly after entering Wady es Sahab we came to a broad, sloping plain thickly studded with shrubs, but without trees. The general features of the country are low hills lying between the Serbal mass and the cliffs of Sinai toward which we journeyed slowly upward. Our camp in Feiran was at about 2100 feet. At the entrance of Wady es Sahab our barometers registered a little over 3000 feet, and when we crossed the watershed at 3.45 P. M., over 3900 feet. Beyond this we crossed three or four rough sections by narrow

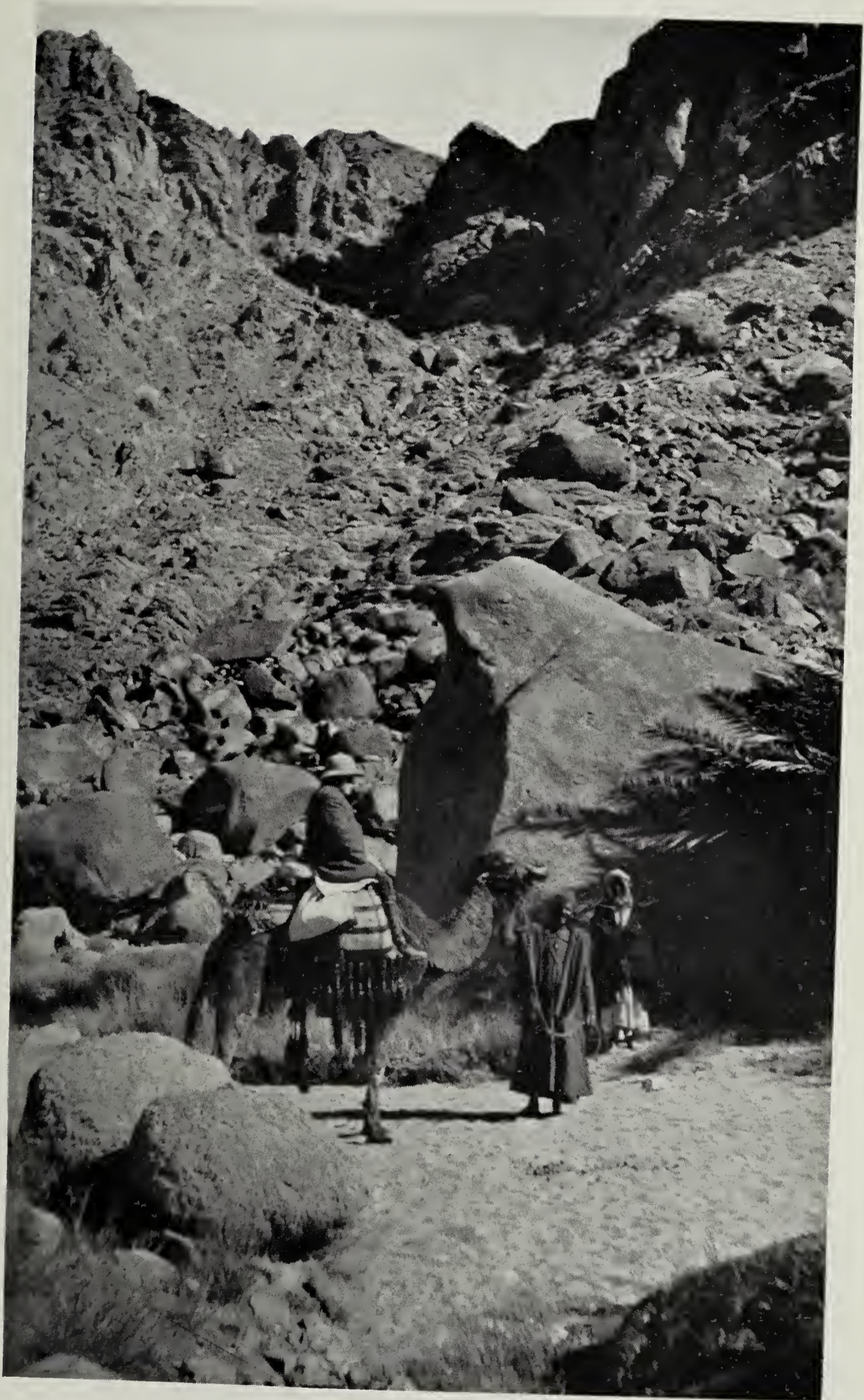
passes until we reached a belt or tract of gravel and sand which sinks down toward the cliffs of Wady Selaf, which here joins our route in front of Sinai. We pitched our tents on this gravelly slope at an elevation of 3800 feet without a drop of water, other than what we carried, for either man or beast.

We were in camp early, and the memory of those two hours of the closing day, the sun setting immediately behind the ragged granite peaks of Serbal in the west and the after-glow on the red granite walls of Sinai in the east, produced an unbroken series of indescribable effects beautiful and sublime beyond all power of human language.

This look upward into Sinai must be one of the great views of the earth. The everlasting granite cliffs rise abrupt and rugged from their very base in the valley for 800 to 1000 feet, the sublime outworks of this citadel of creation. Seen under the brilliant rays of the westering sun, they rolled like great rosy billows far up into the crystalline blue of the vault of heaven; while at early morning they were black and frowning to a degree that was awful, as if forbidding all approach to some great sanctuary within.

That night our camp was pleasantly disturbed by the arrival of two of the coast guard cameleers, who came up from Tur on the Red Sea in search of smugglers who bring opium into Egypt and carry arms out to the traders along the Gulf of Akaba. They made themselves comfortable with our cameleers and read the "Desert News" to each other almost all night long.

We rose early (Saturday, February 27th) to enjoy that sublime view upward into Sinai, and began one of the most memorable days of this fascinating journey. The notch making the famous defile, Nagb el Hawa, let the morning sunlight through its mysterious depths with effects that would have bewildered the pencil of Dante himself. It recalled and surpassed every imagination that ever attached itself to the inexpressible conception of a path of life and



Nagb el Hawa—Some fine boulders of red granite

perfect day. Leaving camp, we walked enchanted down the remaining slope, some 200 feet, to the deep valley below, and then began the slow and toilsome ascent upward through the narrow defile between the lightning-riven shattered cliffs of granite some 800 feet sheer and much less than 800 feet apart. The whole floor of the defile is strewn with granite boulders, from the size of a steamer trunk to that of a three-story house, heaping themselves in indescribable confusion toward the center, where wintry torrents and water-spouts have played titanic sport since the earliest days of the earth's history. Geologists tell us that the granite mass of Sinai is one of the few spots upon our planet that has never been submerged since it was lifted by the hand of God above the waters of creation. The path for the riding camels (our baggage caravan went around by the longer route) has been trodden and hollowed out along the shelving sides of the ravine, and every time one approached the threatening walls on either side one could not but shudder at the thought of one or two more boulders being suddenly added to the heaps through which he and his camel were toiling. Again and again we dismounted and allowed the camels to rest. It took us more than three hours to reach the top of the steep climb. By that time the sun had risen high enough for our cameras. Figure 39 gives an interesting bit at the top, with riderless camels winding among the boulders, and a striking glimpse of the country far below, over which we had come the day before. Figure 40 gives another bit higher up, while figure 41 is a truly characteristic specimen. The big red boulder just beyond Dr. Goucher on his camel is three or four times as large as a freight car, and would make a magnificent monument for the finest park in the world. The floor of the defile beyond is strewn with so many that on looking back one wonders how he ever managed to get through them with his camel.

Many travellers when they have mounted the Nagb el

Hawa, the windy pass, wearily wish and expect to see the famous monastery just in front of them. But they have yet to pass through the wildest and most desolate spot of the peninsula, with peak after peak appearing until the total effect is simply overwhelming. It far exceeds the most brilliant descriptions ever given to it. That hour at sunset looking upward into the after-glow on those red granite footstools of the Creator's throne in the heavens, and this hour within the stillness and desolation and sublimity of Horeb (God's own "Waste") are hours that can never fade from the memory of any responsive human soul that is privileged to worship in this temple not made with human hands. If human sentiment, the deeper instincts of the human heart, the power to appreciate the matchless grandeur of this combination of primeval rock and eternal sky are faculties which may legitimately search for and settle upon the "Mountain of the Law," then here in Sinai is as fit a place as there can be upon this earth where human spirits could be brought face to face with the granite walls of moral truths. Here might well take place the mysterious birth of the soul of a people who in God's providence have already exercised and are destined still to exercise such an overmastering influence on the moral and spiritual redemption of the human race, but which can never be complete until the second birth through a "greater than Moses," who taught a gentler creed and gospel among the quieter beauties about the lovely Sea of Galilee.¹

An hour beyond the top of the Nagb the frowning tops of another peak seemed to bar our way in front, and a little later we stood on the edge of er Rahah, the famous plain that slopes gently downward, like the floor of a modern amphitheater, and ends at the base of another sublime peak which fascinated Robinson and a thousand travellers since, and has come to figure as "*the* Mountain of the Law." This plain at the watershed, according to Robinson, is

¹ "J. V. and P.," Vol. I, pp. 123-127.



Jebel es-Sufsafeh—"Mountain of the Law"
"Mountain of the Law"—as seen from above

900 yards wide and the distance down the gentle slope to the base of the peak Sufsafeh 2333 yards. The slope north of the watershed is somewhat less than a mile in length and a third of a mile in breadth. The whole plain thus becomes two miles long and from one-third to two-thirds of a mile wide, giving a clear surface of at least one square mile. Now this space would be hopelessly and totally inadequate as a camping-place, as Arabs camp, for 10,000 people and their flocks, much less 100,000, and how much less millions. But for an assembly of the clans, of all who could leave the tents and cattle, it would accommodate several hundred thousand people without including the side valleys which open out in at least two directions, and all who gathered would be in full view of the mount in front. Panorama 38, taken just below the watershed with a swing camera, gives a clear view of some 60 degrees of the plain and adjoining peaks. The "Mountain of the Law" is the rugged and detached mass in the center. It rises from 1200 to 1500 feet almost sheer in its dark and frowning majesty, and grows upon one as one approaches and realizes the nature of the scarred and shattered red granite mass. The stern splintered mass at the right is only one of a dozen such peaks around and adjacent to this plain of er Rahah.

To complete the description of this plain I direct the attention of the reader to three other unique views of this famous mountain: Figure 42 was taken at much closer range and shows clearly how the plain continues to the base of the mountain which rises almost like the wall of a building that certainly could be touched by a man still standing on the floor of the plain. In the deep valley to the left can be seen the dark outlines of the Monastery of St. Katharine, the only ancient inhabited building in the peninsula.

Figure 43 gives a view of this same peak taken from the opposite direction in the mountain above, a bit of the plain of er Rahah appearing at the left. And Figure 44

gives a unique and remarkable view of the plain itself, as seen from the cleft to the left of the peak Sufsafeh in Figure 43, and the right of the peak, as seen further from the plain below in Figure 42. This series of views ought to enable the reader to appreciate something of the grandeur and wonderful beauty of the location, though no pen nor pencil nor brush can ever reproduce much of the atmosphere, the coloring, the desolation and the effect of the changing shadows from early dawn through the brilliant midday, and from the fading daylight into the after-glow.

Some days later we again visited this plain, and Dr. Goucher and Mr. Taylor made many experiments as to how far the human voice would carry in this crystalline atmosphere 5000 feet above sea-level, surrounded by these bare and polished mountain faces of red granite. The results were simply astonishing, easily convincing us that the voice of a Moses, or of any powerful man born and raised in the wilderness where men's voices take on much of the width and volume of their environment, could have been heard the best part of a mile while standing on any of the lower crags of the mountain overlooking the plain.

Again I repeat that reason, tradition and sentiment easily agree and combine upon this unique location for the momentous events of those memorable eleven months of the Exodus. And again I repeat that while I have pictured the grandest of all possible locations, there are other spots within the Sinaitic circle of granite that would furnish other almost matchless theaters for the same events. But God's choice of the Holy Land for the incarnation, embracing charming Bethlehem and Nazareth, the quiet beauties of Galilee for that ministry of the Gospel of peace and grace, rightly suggests the granite sublimities of Sinai for the majesty and adamant provisions of the moral law.



Plain of er Rahah as seen from the "Mountain of the Law"

CHAPTER XVII

MONASTERY OF SAINT KATHARINE AT SINAI

HALF an hour after we left the plain of er Rahah we passed below the garden wall of the Convent, turned sharply to the right into the space between the gardens and the Monastery (Panorama 45) and alighted in front of a large wooden door which barred all farther progress. In response to repeated use of the iron knocker a man's head appeared through a small window high up in the wall to the left, and asked some wholly unnecessary questions as to who we were and what we wanted. After some farther delay we were admitted through the door to a large outer courtyard lying between the monastery and the garden, where some half-dozen Arabs were sitting round upon the ground. We produced our letters from the Bishop in Cairo, and Milhem disappeared through the small door (Fig. 50), which we afterward came to know as the sole entrance to the monastery proper. A little later came a polite invitation to enter, and we followed our guide through the little door, made two sharp turns within the massive wall, then along a cool paved courtyard and up a stairway to the reception room, where we called on the Prior Eugenios, who gave us a kindly reception to the life and precincts of the Monastery. During our short call and conversation we were offered *arak* (date brandy), quince jelly, water, good coffee, and cigarettes, and, having refused the first and the last, we excused ourselves and started back to the gardens. On the way we inspected the ancient windlass and 2½-inch rope which, with its basket, is the oldest progenitor of our modern elevator. While the gardens are neither ornamental nor well kept, the

little artificial oasis is a real gem in its desolate surroundings. We ate luncheon under the fragrant shade of the blossoming almond and apricot trees and waited for the arrival of our caravan. When it came, all was noise and confusion. A new set of Arabs claimed the right of carrying the loads from the courtyard to the gardens, perhaps a hundred yards away, and, as we afterward learned, still another set claimed the right to carry them back, and each set claimed separate pay. But after a time we saw the tents up and we settled down to enjoy the life under our own tent-poles. Whenever we camped for more than a single night the men took much more pains to make the whole camp comfortable, and we have many special reasons for remembering the camp at Sinai. Our tents can be seen in Panorama 45 among the trees to the right.

About the middle of the 4th century it was the Byzantine Christians who began the exploitation of the Holy Places, and who peopled the peninsula with anchorites and coenobites bound by a common monastic rule. Traces of their occupation are found in all the mountain valleys dating from the massacres which attended the Saracen invasion. The only spot in the peninsula which was not submerged by the advancing tide of Islam is the Monastery of St. Katharine (see Frontispiece). This picturesque institution, standing in a sublime valley of the Sinai group, occupies the site of a fort built by the Emperor Justinian in 527 A. D. It is a long pile of old buildings enclosed by a high wall, on one side of which a few rusty cannon still do sentinel duty. A lower wall encloses the adjoining delightful gardens which have been wrung by incessant toil from the rocky hillside. The fortress monastery has witnessed many a thrilling event in history, has withstood many an attack and siege, and shows marks inside and out of its stormy history. The present entrance for all purposes, after the traveller has been admitted to the center courtyard, is the low door (Fig. 50) with two sharp turns within the wall,



Monastery of St. Katharine at Sinai, and Gardens. Our tents visible among the trees

each capable of being barricaded successfully against the most determined invader. At the first sign of danger these doors are closed, partially walled up, and then the only means of entrance and exit is the windlass, 2½-inch rope and basket, which is let down from a portcullis on the high wall toward the north. This primitive elevator is in good working order and is a genuine reminder of the strenuous conditions of life through all the passing centuries.

The monastery is now a pilgrim shrine of the Greek Orthodox Church, and the kindly monks, about 30 in all, are severely taxed in providing accommodation for parties as large as 100, which come several times every year from Suez. The main church is an early Christian basilica, containing a wealth of detail and symbolism of interest to the archæologist. The oldest part of the structure is undoubtedly "The Chapel of the Burning Bush," said to mark the very spot where God appeared to Moses. All visitors must remove their shoes before entering. The dim light scarcely reveals the wealth of porcelain, chased silver, frescoes and handsomely wrought lamps. A ray of the sun is said to enter this sanctuary once a year only, gaining admission through a cleft in the mountain ridge on the opposite side of the valley. With a fine sentimentality the monks have erected a large cross on the mountain ridge, so that the shadow of the cross must touch the site of the Burning Bush once a year, and the hill is called the "Hill of the Cross." Behind the church is the well from which Moses is said to have watered the flocks of Jethro and where he met his future wife.

The same tradition which assigns the building to Justinian (527-565) says it was originally dedicated to the remembrance of the Transfiguration. Its present name was obtained when the relics of St. Katharine were transferred hither. According to one tradition, she was a martyr of the primitive church tortured on the wheel and beheaded by order of the Emperor Maximian, November 23, 307.

According to some accounts the torture was prevented by a miracle. The wheel became her symbol, as will easily be noted by the "certificate" (Fig. 46) bought by each pilgrim who makes the pilgrimage to her shrine. Another tradition says that after her martyrdom her body was carried by the angels from Alexandria to the summit of the mountain that now bears her name, and down in the sacristy are shown her relics, which consist of a skull and hand set in gold and embossed with jewels.

It might fairly be argued that the name of St. Katharine militates against this monastery's having been built to the memory of Moses or to mark the "Mountain of the Law," and that after it became the only habitation which survived the Saracen invasion the monks naturally annexed the other sacred sites for the convenience of pilgrims and the profit of the monastery. At any rate the "certificate" still issued by the monastery to the pilgrims presents a curious conglomeration of traditions and fancies. In Figure 46 is shown the Monastery, and out of it grows a burning bush and within the flame the Virgin and Child. Of the mountains the central one is assigned to Moses, and winding up it appears the famous stairway. The mountain on the right belongs to St. Katharine and the angels are in the act of placing her body there. The third peak is assigned to Elijah, who is seen at its base being fed by the ravens. Behind the peaks is seen the Red Sea with ships and fishes. The whole picture is covered with scenes and names which include saints and martyrs of all ages. At the very base of the Monastery are Arabs shooting with ancient cross-bows at the monk who is raising the basket from the depths below. It is a superb representation of the ancient world in its geography, history, traditions and religion as it exists in the minds of the monks and pilgrims who visit Sinai. The original certificate is 13½ inches wide and 18 inches long, and thousands of copies of it hang framed in the homes of Greece and Russia.



Pilgrim's Certificate sold by the Monks at Sinai. The original is 13½ inches wide and 18 inches long

The Monastery, as will be seen clearly in Panorama 45 and the Frontispiece, is really a fortress containing a labyrinth of buildings and small courts, with an endless series of small rooms, vaults, stairways and passages leading in every direction. It is, indeed, a venerable building, dating back more than 1300 years. The original fortress wall is built largely of granite measuring 209 feet one way and 235 feet the other, and the whole structure fully one-fourth as high as it is wide and long. Our Frontispiece is a superb view of the building and granite mountain behind it. The upper portions of the outer wall have been repaired at many points by poor and cheap masonry. The hard granite is so costly to cut and handle that perhaps little of it has been used since the days of Justinian. While we were at the Monastery they showed us the preparation for making and burning rough brick, which seemed almost a shame where *soil* of any kind is much more precious than granite.

While the weight of early Christian tradition centers round Serbal, the Oasis of Feiran, where stood the ancient city and center of the anchorites, and where have been found the oldest coins and remains of the largest monastic establishments, the Monastery of St. Katharine at the base of Jebel Musa enjoys the unique distinction of being the only building that was left standing at the time the Muslim conquerors swept over the peninsula and wiped out every other trace of Christian civilization. The reason why the Monastery of St. Katharine was left standing has never been fully told, so far as I am aware, by any other traveller. The reason, as I learned in Cairo and which was afterward confirmed by the monks at Sinai, is something about as follows: A certain Muslim Caliph of Egypt, named Kila-wun (1279 A. D.), celebrated for alternate acts of cruelty and beneficence, extended his conquests and warlike enterprises to Hums, Tripoli and Damascus in Syria. After his conquest of that country and knowing of the Christian

civilization still existing at and about the Oasis of Feiran, he sent an army to destroy it. He certainly wiped out the Christian city of Feiran. He reduced to ruins several other well-known monasteries in the vicinity of Sinai, but, as the story goes, the wily monks of this particular convent met the commander and his thirsty army with gifts of food and water and probably gold, some distance away from their monastic home. By this submission and their gifts they appeased his religious fanaticism and sought for some way to escape annihilation. The story says that at his suggestion they hastily converted one of the many vaulted rooms into a mosque and made a shabby minaret. According to promise he then wrote back to his master in Egypt that with great surprise he actually found within the monastery of St. Katharine at Sinai a Moslem mosque, and therefore refrained from destroying the whole establishment until he received further specific orders from his master. The orders never came, and whether this story be literally true or a legend, one undeniable fact remains in the existence of this little mosque in the center of this Christian monastery till the present hour, remaining as it has been for centuries, a grievous thorn in the flesh of these monks of Sinai. They dare not destroy it, they cannot allow its use by the surrounding Muslim population except under most rigid restrictions.

Many travellers have described the quaint customs of the monks and the rigorous monastic rule. Some have treated their life, notably Palmer, as a sort of religious humbug, while others, like Robinson, have been deeply moved by the pathos of the whole situation. We attended one of the long services and were deeply impressed by the faces and attitudes and voices of these old men who had spent from ten to sixty years in that lonely mountain with frequent fastings and weekly prayers beginning as early as 2 A. M. at all seasons of the year. At the close of the services we attended, a basin of bread soaked in wine was

passed round, and we were invited to partake with the other worshippers.

The Economos or prior Eugenios has been in the monastery since 1866 with almost no intermission. He made one journey to Jerusalem five years ago. He spoke broken Arabic and so we had no difficulty in communicating with him when seeking information or making our wants known. He told us of a small school started at Tor for Arabic speaking pupils, and we had pleasure in giving him a large number of Testaments and Gospels in Arabic to be used as text-books in the school. One of the younger brothers also spoke Arabic very well and accompanied us about the monastery. At the time of our visit there were 28 monks in attendance, all Ionian Greeks. They were just then rejoicing greatly over the action of the British Government in forcing Turkey to remove her troops away from Akaba and in replacing the boundary marks between Turkey and Egypt. This means that they are to remain under the protection of Egypt and Great Britain, which makes them safe against all attacks or molestation by the Arabs.

Russia also, for religious reasons, has extended another kind of protection, and it is to be hoped that they will never need wall up the little door again and be obliged to return to basket, rope and windlass.

Of course we visited the ancient library, which has been greatly improved during the past ten or fifteen years, especially through the efforts of two English ladies, Mrs. Gibson and her sister, Mrs. Lewis. Some of the more valuable books have been encased in wooden and leather covers to protect them. Two or three complete catalogues have been made of the Greek and Arabic volumes, almost all in manuscript. They showed us a reproduction of the Codex Sinaiticus, the discovery of which in 1844 has made this library famous for ever. It is reckoned the first (*Aleph*) and most precious among the manuscripts of the Bible. The greater part of it is now in St. Petersburg.

It contains the whole of the New Testament complete, together with the Epistle of Barnabas and a large part of the Shepherd of Hermas. It was discovered by Tischendorf and dates from about 400 A. D., and is surpassed by the Codex Vaticanus alone in age and authority. Several of the leaves are preserved at the Leipzig University Library under the name Codex Friderico-Augustanus, but the greater part was purchased from the monastery by Alexander II for 8000 francs in 1869. The discovery and loss of this great treasure to the monastery here made the monks more jealous than ever of the books that remain. They have scores of duplicates of certain early Greek manuscripts of prayer books. Dr. Goucher greatly desired to purchase one of these, and though we tried every means possible in Cairo and afterward at the Monastery he did not succeed.

And here, according to promise, I give some account of the problem of the documents of the Old Testament, and especially of those forming the Hexateuch. Those who find this too dry for their taste may pass on at once to Chapter XIX and begin the ascent of Jebel Musa.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PROBLEM AS RELATED TO THE DOCUMENTS

PART I.—THE DIVISION OF THE DOCUMENTS

AMONG the most interesting results of archæology is the assured fact that all the great nations of antiquity had written records of their own laws, history and institutions. We are constantly amazed at the abundance of these records as indicated by the discoveries of fragments of their ancient libraries and government records such as those recently unearthed at Tel el-Amarna in Egypt and some of the mounds in Babylonia. Reference has already been made (p. 29) to the written records of Egypt which extend back to the dates prior to 4000 B. C., and it is now known that papyrus was used in Egypt as early as 3580 B. C., and that true alphabetic letters were in use there 2500 years before their use by any other people. The written records of Babylonia extend to as remote, if not more remote, periods of human history. It would not be strange, therefore, if we should take for granted that the Children of Israel possessed documents which had their origin in the earliest periods of their history as a people.

Years ago we were accustomed to speak of the Pentateuch, which was a term to include the first five books of the Bible: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. In more recent years Joshua has been added to this list and we are now accustomed to speak of the Hexateuch meaning the first six books of the Bible.

The book of Genesis touches more problems in science, archæology, and history than any other book of the Old

Testament and, we might well add, any other book in the world. Its name, as is well known, was given from the first written word from the manuscript roll in which the book was preserved. Other rolls of the ancient Hebrew libraries took their names from the first word or paragraphs in those rolls, and the names thus casually given do not always prove to be an accurate index to the contents of the book. It is well known to careful students that if the three books, Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, had been included in one of the ancient rolls instead of three, we might have divided them much more suitably, though very unequally, as follows: (1) Exodus 1 to 18 would be entitled "The Exodus from Egypt to Sinai," (2) Exodus 19 to Numbers 10: 10 would be entitled "The History of the Children of Israel at Sinai," (3) Numbers 10: 11 to 36: 13 would be "The History of the Exodus from Sinai to the Jordan." The book of Deuteronomy would then be a sort of biography of Moses in which the writer speaks of Moses as having reviewed the whole history of the Children of Israel, pointing out to them many lessons of God's providence and repeating in varied form all the laws and commandments by means of which the Hebrew children of the Egyptian bondage were transformed into the Hebrew nation and the people Israel. And the book of Joshua gives the history of the actual entrance into the promised land, its conquest, its survey and its division among the tribes of Israel, thus completing the history of God's chosen people, as they understood it, from the foundation of the world to the beginning of the Hebrew monarchy.

Taking this section of the Bible as a whole under the title of the Hexateuch, scholars have bestowed upon it during the last hundred years an amount of study which far exceeds all that was ever bestowed upon it since it was first written. Among the greater results is the fact that documents were certainly used in the preparation of the Hexateuch. Whatever we may think about dates assigned

to these documents, or however we may be troubled about the thousand and one fantastic structures built upon this cardinal fact, we are bound to recognize this result of modern critical research, that the Hexateuch makes use of several older documents; in fact, this claim is so well established that we must accept it in order to gain any clear understanding of this portion of the Holy Scriptures.

It is a well-known fact which is easily verified in our Bible that, owing to the difficulty of consulting the originals when they existed only in the cumbrous rolls of manuscript, where the first word or paragraph was 50 or 100 feet away from some other paragraph needed in the heart of the roll, writers and speakers very often quoted from memory, and no account was taken of minor variations so long as the sense of the passage referred to was retained. Many also are in danger of forgetting the well-known fact that in these ancient manuscripts there is no assistance to the reader such as we derive from the use of capital and small letters, but all the ancient writings were in letters of uniform size and shape. In the more ancient writings there is not only a total lack of chapter and verse divisions, but no pretence of punctuation. Quotation marks do not exist. Whenever one author made use of passages from another there is rarely any clue to the fact of its being a quotation. Starting with the premise that documents were used in preparing the Hexateuch, a thousand investigators in the course of a few years invented a whole vocabulary of signs and terms and epithets which were as unintelligible to the ordinary reader as the most abstruse treatise in mathematics or the higher problems in physics and astronomy. Now it is not my purpose in this book to enter into any lengthy discussion of the endless series of intricate problems which have been evolved and manufactured by those who have run riot in their speculations and investigations. But even the ordinary reader must in these days know something about P, J, E, D. P stands for the document written by the

priestly writer or writers. This document is said to be a review of Israel's history in the interests of the priesthood. Everything in the most ancient history or traditions of the Children of Israel that would substantiate the claims of the priesthood and the ceremonial law is seized upon and made the most of. According to this conception it parallels what might be designated as "papal" (or papistic) histories of the Christian Church written, say, in the year 1200, which endeavor to push origins of the papacy back into the 3d century and seize upon every incident or document that could be made to point in that direction. Or, to take an example from a non-Christian faith, Moslem writers, while knowing in a general way that the religion of Islam dates from the person of Muhammad, have extended their claims for their faith back into the most remote history, and solemnly assert that Adam and Moses and David, and even Christ himself, were good Moslems. J and E are documents whose distinction from each other depends originally upon the two words used for God; J is the Jahvistic document in which the name Jahveh (Jehovah) is the name mainly used to designate God, while E is the Elohistic document, wherein the name Elohim is used to designate the divine being. D, as mentioned above, refers mainly to the book of Deuteronomy, and the Greek origin of the name points to a repetition of the Law.

In the original documentary hypothesis the leading test was this varied use of the Divine names, and it is still, generally speaking, the simplest and most general. But as investigation proceeded it was seen and pointed out that none of the four documents or writers was entirely consistent in the use of the divine names, and this speedily led to the exuberant growth of theories and documents, until at the present time in sober commentaries there are in use at least nine of these cabalistic signs which attempt to distinguish at least nine documents or fragments with hints and references to a possible extension of their number

and intricacies. With the growth of these intricacies, many of which are fantastic, if not absurd, there is a growth of honest, wholesome sense. It was pointed out years ago that the attempt to differentiate these great documents, using the name of God as the sole test, was a very precarious operation, and every year has weakened the faith of scholars in this as a supreme test.

Perhaps one of the best criticisms ever made upon this feature of the documentary hypothesis is the argument from analogy as exemplified in a modern hymn-book. According to the consensus of scholars of all types of thinking, the dates of the Old Testament manuscripts all lie somewhere within a period of 1200 years, say from 1500 to 300 B. C. Now it happens that our modern books of Christian hymns cover a period of about the same length, because while our English language in its present form dates back, say, 1000 years, the older forms of English easily add another two or three hundred years, and it is well known that many of our most beautiful modern hymns are translations from the Latin and the Greek, which extend still farther back into early Christian history. If, now, we should attempt to separate into categories all our famous Christian hymns and determine their age solely by the use of the names of God in them, we would be attempting to do what has been done with the manuscripts of the Old Testament.

According to this theory, we should select all the hymns which have no reference to the Trinity and assign them a date prior to the great Church Councils which settled that doctrine. We should next select all the hymns which have no reference to the divine-human nature of Christ, and date those prior to the great monotheistic controversy. We should then select all the hymns which make use of the divine name Jehovah and give them a date different from all the hymns which make use of the simpler English name Lord, and the still larger collection which make use of the

one name God. We might then proceed to isolate other hymns according to their use of the various names for Jesus Christ. Similarly, we might follow out other lines of historical and archæological research, and in the end the result would be a mixture of follies, absurdities and impossibilities which would violate every dictum of common sense. And the comparison is by no means an unfair one, because there are running through the mass of our standard hymns great dividing lines, which separate the pietistic from the evangelistic and the Latin from the Greek conceptions of Christianity.

To use a still homelier illustration concerning our acceptance of the four main documents embodied in the Hexateuch, we might refer to the well-known facts of phrenology and the vagaries which attached themselves to that branch of knowledge some 40 or 50 years ago. We all agree that in general the low brow and the cunning eye denote the criminal type, and that the high brow and the regular features, the intellectual type, that the square jaw and the thick neck indicate brute strength and determination; but when the enthusiastic phrenologist maps out every human head into regular blocks like the city squares of Philadelphia, we are not willing to follow. There are many good people with low brows and unprepossessing faces and there are many intellectual looking scoundrels. So there is a point where wholesome common sense steps in and calls a halt, and we certainly have reached this point in discussions of the documentary hypothesis. The whole tendency to-day is to limit the proposition to its broad outlines and to discourage seeking after the fantastic and impossible.

PART II.—THE EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS

Not many years ago a large part of the thinking and scientific world was carried away by the fascinating doctrine of evolution, which in the enthusiastic expectation of its holders was the long lost key to a thousand important

problems. The origin of life, of all living creatures, the origin of man were supposed to be cleared up for ever, and the Creator of the universe was to be relieved of all responsibility for things as they are. Given the spark of life, which may have floated in from some other planet, in one atom of protoplasm and "we do the rest." Now, while we believe that the principle or process of evolution has as legitimate a place in the universe as the law of gravitation, it broke down completely in the attempt to explain the origin of species and became almost a laughing stock when applied to explain the origin of man. It was once thought to be a question of one "missing link," but later careful review has revealed the facts of many missing links; in fact, there are no links at all. Science after science brought in its verdict against the universal solvent of all the stubborn facts of Creation. Such a remote science as chemistry said the final word against the possibility of the physical relationship of man with the ape family. Chemistry can analyze the blood of man and a hundred animals and never err in assigning each drop to its proper heart, and it tells us that there is no more possibility of consanguinity between the man and the ape than there is between the man and the lion; they are forever radically and irrevocably distinct and different. Indeed, chemistry separates man from all other animal creation by a distance almost infinitely greater than that which exists between the lowest forms of animal life and the lion.

After this much abused doctrine was relegated to its proper place in biology, it was stealthily introduced into many another department of knowledge where it can never rightly apply. It came into religion, an old foe with a new face, under the name of *naturalism*, and the natural man is ready to embrace it for about the same reasons as the savage tribes of Africa embrace Islam instead of Christianity. As a doctrine, naturalism, otherwise evolution, claims that all religious truth is derived from a study of

nature without any supernatural revelation, and that all religious life is a natural development, unmarked by any supernatural influences.

Shortly after the rise of the documentary hypothesis of the Hexateuch, many investigators began to rear fantastic structures upon this modest hypothesis, and modern exponents of the evolutionary hypothesis, under the guise of naturalism, rushed in to apply their method.

In the hands of these later investigators the old documentary hypothesis has been modified into an evolutionary hypothesis. The method of procedure has been on the principle that a document representing a simpler form of religion and society is earlier, and one that presents more complex forms, later. They at once ruled out the possibility of Moses having anything to do with the authorship of these documents, and proceeded by inspection to assign dates to each of the four. Accordingly, the J document would represent the religious and social conditions of Israel about 856 to 800 B. C., the E document representing the somewhat later development, say, 800 to 750 B. C., the D document, the conditions surrounding the reforms under Josiah, 621 B. C., and the P document, the conditions which prevailed under Ezra and Nehemiah when they promulgated "The Book of the Law" in 444 B. C. According to this theory the oldest of these four documents was written at least 550 years after the Exodus took place, and the most recent of the four about a thousand years. It follows, then, that the authors projected their writings back into the remote past, each one seeking facts to substantiate his view of the religious condition of Israel at the time of writing.

It was speedily pointed out that there were hundreds of passages which could not, in fair laws of criticism, be referred to the dates assumed, and then began the more minute dissection of these larger documents into what was claimed to be their component parts, until, instead of four

main documents, there are at least nine, with the possibilities of this number being increased. This process was continued until the results remind one of the cycles and epicycles which drove the ancient astronomers almost mad, until the Ptolemaic system was almost beyond the power of any ordinary mind to understand; all of which was cleared and swept away when once the center of the universe was transferred from the earth to the sun. If Moses were living to-day he would have a much harder time in getting through this documentary and evolutionary theory than he had in getting through the wilderness. The process of dissection and multiplication was continued until the results nullified and contradicted each other to such an extent that Moses as an historical character was abandoned, the route of the Exodus and the Exodus itself denied all standing as history. The same process of dissection and multiplication and absurdity has recently reached its ultima thule in the denial of the historical character of Jesus Christ. The same process of reasoning and method of procedure would annihilate every well-known character in history.

This evolutionary hypothesis, like many another theory born or made in Germany, is destined to live 35 or 40 years and then die. Very frequently such theories are shorter lived in Germany, but continue to flourish in other countries long after they are dead in Germany. So, for about 40 years, this class of critics have been wandering in this wilderness of their own making, and they will continue to wander so long as they insist upon reading so much "into" the Bible that was never there. In plain English, it is a delusion into which many of the most distinguished of modern scholars seem to have fallen, and from which no one but the historical Moses can deliver them. This attempt to separate the fragments of older documents and locate them chronologically according to the simpler or more complex forms of religious or social life is a test even more dangerous than that of distinguishing the

original documents according to their use of the Divine names. Able scholars are following up these delusive deductions and undoing as rapidly as possible the evil which has already resulted.

If this were the place for such discussions, one might give a hundred shining examples of where they have failed to face the real problems, where they have glossed over difficulties and where they have been absolutely incorrect and mistaken. This same process which they have claimed as valid in dealing with the Old Testament documents would not be tolerated or possible in dealing with problems which lie this side of the invention of printing, because they would be so speedily detected and exposed. A good example of this kind is furnished by the work of a recent critic, named Wilhelm Scherer, in an article entitled "Faust's Erster Monolog" (Faust's First Monologue). It was printed first in the "Goethe Jahrbuch" (Goethe Year Book), Vol. VI, 1885, and was subsequently published in a volume which appeared in 1886 under the title Wilhelm Scherer: "Aufsätze über Goethe" (Essays on Goethe). The article exists only in German and deals with a passage in the second part of Faust, which Scherer claimed was the amalgamation of two different passages, one written in Goethe's youth and the other later, with the line of cleavage clearly traceable. But the evidence of Goethe's residuum is overwhelming that the whole passage was written at one time in Goethe's later life.

A still more striking example is connected with the attempt to deal with the code of Hammurabi on this evolutionary basis. According to the critics, the Mosaic code is a growth and accumulation of laws and customs and usages, some of which may have existed at the time of Moses, but which was thrown into its present form at the dates referred to, *i. e.*, after 800 B. C. But Hammurabi's code, differing in very important respects, resembling in still more important respects, was in existence at least 800

years before the date of the Exodus, that is, 900 years before the Mosaic code was put into its present shape by Moses himself or his immediate contemporaries. Hammurabi's reign, according to the most recent and accurate calculation, began about 1975 B. C. The discovery of this code and its publication has brought consternation into many schools of higher critics. In the first place, it sheds an interesting light on the older dates assigned to the documents of the Hexateuch, because it is shown with reasonable conclusiveness that while the influence of Hammurabi's code on the making of the Mosaic code was possible in the 15th century at Sinai, it was impossible in the 8th century at the time claimed by the evolutionary hypothesis as the date of those manuscripts. Secondly, it defeats the supposition that once prevailed, which claimed the impossibility of such a code as the Mosaic existing in the days of Moses because the whole state of the Children of Israel and the surrounding nations would not allow of it legally or intellectually. Thirdly, a careful study of the code of Hammurabi shows clearly that it, 900 years before the Exodus, was not the result of any continuous evolution of the law in a homogeneous and progressive people, but an adaptation of widely distinct systems, because a large part of its stipulations take for granted the existence of an aristocracy and of several grades of people. This aristocracy clung to many primitive ideas of justice in their dealing with the lower grades of subjects, while employing the higher code in their dealings with each other.

Another curious inference, which seems almost forced upon us, is this, that the whole situation as revealed by the code of Hammurabi points to an aristocracy, presumably a recent infusion of a wilder Semitic race, which had amalgamated with an ancient and already partly Semitic people. This inference, in turn, throws a curious light upon the origin of the Mosaic code, which, according to all credible and reasonable deductions, was not the creation of Moses'

brain, but the codification of ideas and customs extending far beyond his day into the remote past of the progenitors of the Semitic people. The lack of any signs of incompleteness in Hammurabi's code relieves us of all responsibility requiring us to justify the possibility of the Mosaic code at the date claimed for it at Sinai, and in the plains of Moab beyond, during the period of the Exodus.

PART III.—THE PURPOSE OF THE HEXATEUCH

Once again the difficulties of this whole situation are relieved by a return to simple, wholesome common sense in dealing with all the facts involved. The documentary hypothesis places before us vividly the apparent discrepancies in the different documents and gives some explanation thereof, however unsatisfactory such explanation may prove to be. We do not claim that it does "remove" all the difficulties and contradictions or inconsistencies which seem to exist, but we do claim that every advance in real knowledge concerning the period of the Exodus is throwing an immense amount of light upon all these problems.

But, while waiting for this increasing light and confirmation of Biblical records, we relieve our minds completely of anxiety or disturbance by recurring at all times to the real purpose of the Hexateuch. The unbroken traditions of all the Hebrew literature and records is that Moses was the founder of the Hebrew faith, and the Hexateuch in its present form bears on its face the evidence of having been compiled for the sole purpose of recording God's dealings with men. It does not assume to be a treatise of history, geography, biography or any other science. We cannot, therefore, expect to find in it exact scientific terminology and method. An historical or a geographical misunderstanding in our Hexateuch may thus be freely admitted where the avowed purpose is solely to record the transactions which have happened between God and man. It is not contrary to any orthodox belief

in the doctrine of inspiration to admit the human factor in the composition of the Bible records, because inspiration, after all, is the self-revelation of God through the Holy Ghost to many minds, and Holy Writ is a more or less perfect record of that self-revelation. It is not at all inconceivable that, when the documents of an earlier age came to be incorporated into one, after the lapse of many centuries, this process should have caused more or less confusion; that the records of different events which were similar might easily be regarded as different accounts of the same event, or that the different accounts of a single event might become separated and regarded as records of distinct events. All this is possible when we regard the books of the Hexateuch as compiled under the inspiration of God the Holy Ghost, *solely* for the purpose of recording God's revelation of himself. The moral and spiritual tone of the book is the best evidence of its own inspiration, but we may also add that its extraordinary truthfulness to human nature and to Oriental life creates an impression in favor of its trustworthiness at all points; the consistency of its contents with the subsequent history and religious thought of later Hebrew history helps to confirm this impression. The fact of inspiration, however, once admitted on the higher level of moral and spiritual tone, rightly carries influence over into details of fact, and turns the balance on the side of truthfulness and trustworthiness in all minor details.

The attitude of a very large number of critics to-day, who stand about the Hexateuch ready to dissect and divide and destroy, resemble a gathering of botanists and chemists and physicists quarreling over the remains of some beautiful rose or flower. The chemist has crushed it to an unrecognizable pulp, in which he searches for the protoplasm and the pigments which were its life and beauty as a flower; the botanist has torn it into shreds searching for its pistils, its stamens, its seed, in order to stretch it upon the frame of

his procrustean system; while the physicist, objecting to the chemist's suggestion concerning the pigments, argues in regard to the various theories of light in the production of color—all for the time being have lost every pleasurable conception of the beauty of the rose as a flower. So it seems that the critics of the Hexateuch wander away from the purpose of this unique record of God's revelation to man. But we are thankful to God that 999 out of every thousand readers of the Hexateuch are much more concerned with the beauty of its purpose and meaning, rather than with the mistaken, if not hostile, criticism of its parts, and when pressed by still another class of critics who demand the reason for our belief in its inspiration, we may answer: "We do not deny the 'existence' of light, the 'effects' of light, and the 'transmission' of light, because we cannot prove the existence of the 'ether' which science has postulated as the medium through which light waves are brought into contact with our mechanical organ of vision, and through that, by some unknown process, into our seeing and thinking soul. No more shall we deny the existence of God, His power of self-revelation, His contact with the human soul, because we cannot explain the *mode* of inspiration, which is the 'ether' of the thinkable, reasonable, religious life of man."

PART IV.—THE PRESENT STATE OF THE DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS

It has already been remarked that the writers or compilers of the Old Testament documents made no use of quotation marks, even when they quoted the exact words of earlier documents which were in their hands at the moment of writing. In fact, there are many reasons to believe that in handling these ancient documents they regarded them as too sacred and too precious to be altered in their smallest details; they therefore transcribed them in their entirety, making no attempt to reconcile trifling or even more im-

portant variations; hence their instinct and practice in thus transcribing literally now proves to be one of the greatest possible advantages to modern critical studies.

If, as according to more extreme writers, the J document dates from the 9th century B. C., and the E document from the earlier part of the 8th century, and D from 621 B. C., about the time of Josiah, and P in its main stock from the age of Ezekiel and the exile, 570 B. C.; and taking their date of the Exodus as 1230 B. C., then it follows that P was written 560 years after the Exodus; E, 400; and J, 300. The Bible account of the Exodus then would be as though one of our living historians should write the finest account of Columbus and his enterprise, his voyage and his discovery of America, and that this in time should be adopted as the true national account. According to this theory some pious soul might easily write to-day a "Blessing of Columbus," including in his supposed forecast all the characteristics which we pleasantly attribute to the "Yankee" of the East, the "Colored South" and the "Wild and Woolly West," but which characteristics, instead of being prophecies, are simply the recorded results of observation made during the 400 years which have elapsed since the discovery of the New World.

We are all familiar from childhood with the Biblical phrase "the Law and the Prophets" so often used by Christ and other writers of the New Testament. In order to free our minds from certain misconceptions which cling to the books of the Old Testament, as now divided and named, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy and Joshua, we must think of the Hexateuch as one great document called the "Law." As already referred to, the present names and divisions are largely accidents connected with the ancient division of manuscripts into rolls that could be handled and named from their first word or paragraph. Now, within this combination of documents there are references to still other documents, as

can be learned by looking into any concordance under the word "book."

Genesis 5: 1 is the first case in point: "This is the book of the generations of Adam." It is clear that this marks the beginning of some more ancient document embodied in what we call the book of Genesis. But while the beginning is clearly marked, there is great difficulty to say just where the ancient "book" ends. The phrase "these are the generations of" is repeated ten times in Genesis and nowhere else in the Hexateuch, so it has been suggested that these sections formed an ancient "book of genealogies" which has been called the Toledoth book.

Exodus 17: 14 records a cardinal fact, where Moses is told to "Write this for a memorial in a book" for Joshua. This may be the beginning of the "Law of Moses." Exodus 24: 7 mentions the "book of the covenant," which is thought to be a reference to the ten commandments only. Numbers 5: 23 directs the priest to write the curses in a book. Numbers 21: 14 makes a definite reference to another "book of the wars of the Lord." Deuteronomy has nine references to the "book of the law," this "book of the law," which is reasonably referred to the document itself which we know as Deuteronomy. Joshua refers to the "book of the law," which we may reasonably suppose to be the book referred to in Exodus 17: 14, and to which book Joshua makes additions when the people made a new covenant at Shechem (Joshua 24: 26). In Joshua 18: 19 the spies described the promised land "by cities in seven parts in a book," which is the survey recorded in Joshua. In Joshua 10: 13 there is a reference to the "book of Jasher," of which we now have no trace. So here are at least 22 references within the Hexateuch to at least six different books. One of these books was clearly a book of genealogies, another was "of the wars of the Lord." That referred to in Exodus 17: 14 is clearly the original book of the law, of which the "book of the Covenant" may or may not have been an

integral part. Now it is perfectly reasonable and simple to think of two or a half-dozen written rolls in the hands of Moses, guarded with jealous care and passed on to Joshua, who added to them until they found a final resting-place in Shechem and other sanctuaries in the Promised Land. Some of these may have been lost, and one of them at least was found when the temple was cleaned in the days of Josiah, as recorded in 2 Kings 22:8 and 2 Chronicles 34:15. We have already pointed out the fact (p. 76) that there is no difficulty involved as to the art of writing, neither is there any as to the materials. Skins were used before parchment came into general use at the time of the XII Dynasty (3400-1800 B. C.), and it is certain that both were well known and in general use for many hundred years before the Exodus.

When we step from the Hexateuch into the historical books the references to "books" are multiplied a hundred-fold, and many of them come to have the value of technical terms, such as "The Shepherd of Hermas" or the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" or the "Code of Hammurabi" would to us.

Taking, then, the scriptural term, "the *law* of Moses" or "the *law* of Jahweh," as embodying the most important subject in the Pentateuch or Hexateuch, scholars have sought for the "*code*" or "*codes*" as the most important item in these documents, and thus the most recent investigation becomes easily intelligible to the lay mind. That designated by the "*code*" is seen to be the *core* of the revelation, and the document as a whole includes other historical matter woven about the code.

Regarding what has preceded as explanatory, I now propose to give briefly what I understand to be the most reasonable and substantial results of this later investigation. There are still many variations and difficulties to be solved, but the main results are reasonably sure. The apparent conflict at certain important points can well

be left for later light, which is sure to come, taking the results of the past ten years as an index for the coming decade. Those who wish to follow the more intricate statements of these problems will do well to read the brilliant book already referred to, Toffteen's "Historical Exodus," from page 63 and onward.

Taking the documents in their accepted order chronologically, the following are some of the tangible results: The chief contents of the document designated P are now supposed to be made up of the original "Toledoth," or "book of genealogies," and another document called "the book of the law of Jahweh." As already referred to, such a book of genealogies is mentioned in Genesis 5: 1, and the formula "these are the generations of" occurs ten times in Genesis and does not occur elsewhere in the Pentateuch.

In regard to the date of P, it cannot be assigned to the exilic or post-exilic periods because it was in part the basis of the reforms of Josiah, 621 B. C. It was appealed to in the time of Hezekiah, *circa* 700 B. C., and was apparently well known to the prophets of that time, Amos and Isaiah. It seems to have been the basis of a missionary propaganda by the Levites in the time of Jehoshaphat, *circa* 873 B. C., and was well known to his father Asa. Solomon and even David worshipped on the basis of its rules and, finally, Saul carried out his reforms on the basis of its laws. The conclusion, then, seems unavoidable that the P document and code existed in written form as early as the time of Saul and Samuel.

No claim can be made regarding its completeness; here and there it is fragmentary to such an extent that it would give no sense if read by itself. Its peculiarity of language and apparent purpose warrants the suggestion that it may be a literary product of the tribe of Levi.

Out of at least seven different documents, of which fragments appear in the Hexateuch, none of them is complete except the original D, which is our Deuteronomy. It is

more than probable that this is the document referred to many times as the "law of Moses," and is the substance of what was given in the plains of Moab near Madeba, just before Nebo. By common consent it has been identified as the law book found in the 18th year of Josiah, 622-621 B. C., and it is part of the critical hypothesis that the D document is older than the P document, for the internal evidence seems to point that way. Being a unit in itself, it presents a peerless subject for testing the theories and hypotheses concerning documents. The identification of this document with the law book found by Josiah, together with other evidence, external and internal, makes it extremely probable that as a document it dates back to the time of Joshua (1407), bringing it within just 70 years of the date of the Exodus.

The E document, by the consent of all modern critics, is older than D, mainly because the laws and institutions of its code belong to a more primitive state of society.

Technical terms having already been found justifying the identification of parts of P with the "Law of Jahweh" and D with the "Law of Moses," it is suggested that the E code is the "Law of Elohim," mentioned in Joshua 24: 26, 27, and of which the "Book of the Covenant," containing Exodus 20: 2-17 and Exodus 21-23, was a part.

Reference has already been made to the fact that more careful investigation has largely obliterated the differences between the J documents, and since the J code, if there be one, is only one-sixth of the length of the E code, and both claim to belong to the same time and occasion, therefore the conclusion is inevitable that both go back, as the Bible itself asserts (Exodus 17: 14), to a period 40 years before D, which means that the law of Elohim is the E code given at Sinai or Horeb.

"The E document is not a document, but a collection of fragments of what was once a document; that the code, too, is not a complete code, but also fragmentary, and es-

pecially wanting in the "statutes" which once belonged to it, but which have been lost; that the E code provided for a non-Levitical priesthood; that in the period of the judges and the early monarchy the presence of this non-Levitical priesthood shows the general use of the E code all over Israel; that it is probable that at the division of the kingdom the E code with its non-Levitical priesthood became peculiarly the law of the Northern Kingdom; and that the E code shows a remarkable similarity to the code of Hammurabi. In all of these things we can find no contradiction, but, on the contrary, confirmation, and the conclusion that the E document is to be assigned to a date much earlier than that generally given by the critics, and that quite probably it belongs to the time when it purports to have been delivered, namely, the stop at Horeb, when Moses and the people received it at Yahweh's hands."¹

There may be no J code in the Hexateuch, but only fragments of a J document. If any J code ever existed it seems to have been dropped in favor of the E code at some compilation made in after years. It is admitted on all hands that in large sections of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers and Joshua, J and E have been so completely fused together that it is now impossible to divide them. Relating the same history and the same events, their separation could satisfy nothing but a literary curiosity.

So it comes to pass in the matter of the documents, as in the chronology, that the larger numbers of documents and fragments are being reduced and brought within the limits set by the Bible itself. As, in the past, neither side of the radical controversialists has won the victory; the truth has been found somewhere between them and not exactly what either contended for. But every extension of real knowledge enhances the value of the Bible, increases its beauty and approves its substantial accuracy even in unimportant details. As for its inspiration I turn to the

¹ Toffteen's "Historical Exodus," p. 117.

19th Psalm, and say that when I can be led to believe that man built the sun and arranged the heavens, then I can believe also that these most ancient Biblical documents are a record of human brain-work unaided by the spirit and presence of God. The contents, the problems, the teachings, the claims, the facts have no counterpart in merely human productions.

Having said so much, I can now say without fear of being misunderstood that the imperfections of human handiwork cling to the mechanical *book*. There probably never existed a perfect manuscript, any more than there now exists a perfect Bible in any language. And our knowledge of that ancient Hebrew language is not so complete as we once proudly supposed it to be. The wider study of kindred Semitic tongues, especially the Arabic, has enlarged the circle of the unknown. The difficulties are not found in its peculiar alphabet, nor in the flexion of the words, nor yet in the syntax of the language. One of the greatest difficulties lies in the meaning and sometimes conflicting meanings that Hebrew words possess. This is not hard to understand when we remember that the written documents extend over an interval of at least 1200 years and some of the embedded fragments may go back much farther. To attempt to construe the whole Old Testament as though the language were all from one period or division of the Hebrew people must result in many real difficulties. We know something of the changes inevitable in every living language from the shorter history of our own, which has had all the immeasurable advantages of printing to keep our tongue from confusion. The varied meanings of the simplest Hebrew words can easily be understood and illustrated from any Arabic dictionary, where the same difficult development has taken place.

Then, too, the study of the Babylonian and Egyptian languages brings into view another important consideration. Just as Hebrew life and history and religion were in-

fluenced and modified by the great surrounding nations, so also their language bears within it the influences and echoes of many languages through those many centuries, just as English bears the marks of its complex origin and contact with every other language of the Christian era. Some of our simpler scholars take for granted now and then that all such questions can be settled by the "dictionary," forgetting for the moment that we are working in a region where all dictionaries fail us and where we are continually securing fresh facts which must modify and change the dictionaries themselves. The best dictionaries at any period are always somewhat behind the best information available, and are in every case the views of a limited number of scholars in that field.

Historicity

I am ready, therefore, to record my conviction that the Biblical stories of the Exodus are reliable even to the most minute details, except where later compilers have blundered or copyists have miscopied or misunderstood the meaning of the words they used. This means that I heartily agree with those who are convinced¹ that the Biblical account of the Exodus is "absolutely historical in the best sense of the word and trustworthy in its evidence, even to details, contrary to the usual modern hypothesis."

Critics seated thousands of miles away in distance and three thousand years later in time have formulated doubts and queries, have raised imaginary difficulties, which vanish into thin air when the observant traveller enters the almost changeless peninsula of Sinai with his Bible in his hand. Some have gone so far as to deny that the inspired writers had the Sinai region in mind. Nothing could be more grotesque and farther from the truth. The Bible writers plainly knew that country as well as George

¹ Toffteen's "Historical Exodus," p. 279.

Washington ever knew the country between Boston and Yorktown, and the writer, after 26 years in Bible lands and many journeys into these more remote portions, would record his conviction that the geography of the Bible fits the land as the key fits the lock, and each succeeding generation of men will realize this more clearly.

Results

Now there are three ways of studying these ancient records: (1) The *dogmatic* way, where people take a stand upon their childhood memories and imaginations and seem unable to accept any other view. (2) The simple text reading and text matching method, which is carried to impossible conclusions under some one ruling idea, *e. g.*, making the use of the names of God the main determining idea. (3) The *vital* way, that is, truth set in the light of daily life and the real records of human society. Linking the Land with the Book, as did Dr. Thomson 40 years ago, will again produce an overwhelming impression that the book fits the life and the land and man's relations to God.

Too much has been made of the composite nature of the Pentateuch and of wholly erroneous conclusions drawn from fragmentary data. The best Egyptologists now accept Moses as an historical character, and his education in Egypt makes it certain that he and those about him were well accustomed to writing. They also accept the fact that the Israelites sojourned in Egypt and that an Exodus from there to Palestine took place. The duplications and variations in the text of Genesis and Exodus, once the despair of the literalists, now are seen to be the strongest proofs that written documents were before the editors of the Hexateuch, and that they were so ancient and revered that no unification was to be tolerated. It is now agreed that some of the Israelites must have been trained for the office of overseer and that these overseers would naturally prepare

registers of their own Hebrew people. They would thus have been fairly well acquainted with the elements of Egyptian administration.

Now all these extra-Biblical assumptions or results are amply justified by a fair reading of the Biblical records themselves. The converging of all these many lines of investigation and argument centres in the accuracy, the truthfulness, the reasonableness of the record of the Exodus, and gives abundant promise of still more satisfactory results in coming years.



A view of the Monastery from a point on the "stairway"

CHAPTER XIX

ASCENT OF JEBEL MUSA

BUT the greater shrine in connection with the Monastery of St. Katharine is the ascent of Jebel Musa, which rises 2350 feet above the Monastery. The "Shrine of the Burning Bush" is supposed to be the oldest part of the ancient church, and outside the shrine, carefully fenced with wood and wire, is planted a bush "*of the same variety,*" as the old Abbot said with a twinkle in his eye. We were each given two leaves from this precious plant, which must have a fabulous value in the eyes of the Russian pilgrims.

Leaving the Monastery by the only possible door (Fig. 50), we passed through the courtyard and out of another door just beyond the upper right-hand corner of the Monastery wall (Frontispiece), and up the rough slope at an angle of about 45 degrees and into the darker shadow at the upper left-hand section of the picture. We were accompanied by Brother Gabriel, a young monk who spoke considerable Arabic, and two of the Monastery servants, who carried a luncheon for us and some candles and oil for the various shrines on the mountain. The pilgrim "certificate" (Fig. 46) and some old travel records speak as though a continuous and unbroken stairway led from the shrine to the top of the mountain and make mention of 3000 steps. There may be fully 3000 blocks of stone which have been placed by human hands, but the stairs are by no means uniform or continuous. There are great stretches where none are needed, but there are also great cliffs and slopes of the jagged granite where progress would be exceedingly dangerous and even impossible without the

stairs built by the hands of the pilgrims. There are no stairs on the rough slope between the Monastery and where the path enters the deep shadow (Frontispiece), but from that point upward for fully 1000 feet none but an ibex could climb without the stairs.

We began our ascent at 7.30 A. M. and it required two and a half hours of steady climbing to reach the summit. The day was somewhat hazy, and through the haze the mountains loomed up in a wonderful way. In about half an hour we made our first halt at a little spring in the rocks. It is a little pocket in the solid granite into which trickles a tiny rill of clear, cold water. The Arabs say Moses here tended the sheep of Jethro whom they call Shu'aib, but the monks declare that it issued from the rock in consequence of the prayers of the holy Abbot Sangarius.

While resting here I took one of those chance snaps with my camera, hardly expecting any result in the early morning light, and on my return to Beirut was surprised to see this gem of a photo (Fig. 47) come out upon the film. It gives what may be termed the back side of the Monastery, while the Panorama 45 and the Frontispiece give the front. By carefully comparing the three the reader will gain a little of the atmosphere of this sublime valley where these rugged, splintered granite precipices, fully 1000 feet high, frown at each other across the narrow space in which this lonely monastery has stood for fully 1300 of the 3300 years which have elapsed since the Children of Israel passed that momentous year somewhere within a few hours of this spot.

After another half-hour above the mountain spring, we reached a rude chapel dedicated to the Virgin, where Brother Gabriel lighted tapers and offered incense, as he did in the other chapels and shrines beyond. The story connected with it concerns one of the Oriental pests—the fleas. It is said that the monks once found the monastery so infested that they meditated upon abandoning it. True

to their devotion toward the sacred mountain, they decided to make a final visit to its summit, when lo! in this rocky ravine the Virgin suddenly appeared, promising them freedom from the pest of fleas, an abundance of pilgrims, and that the plague should never visit them again. Hence the shrine to her memory.

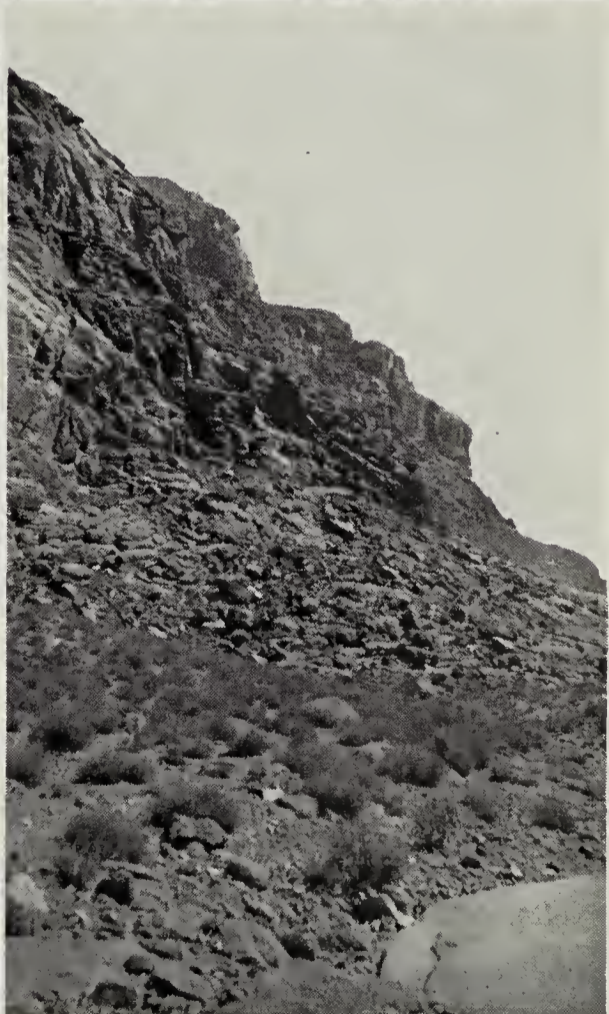
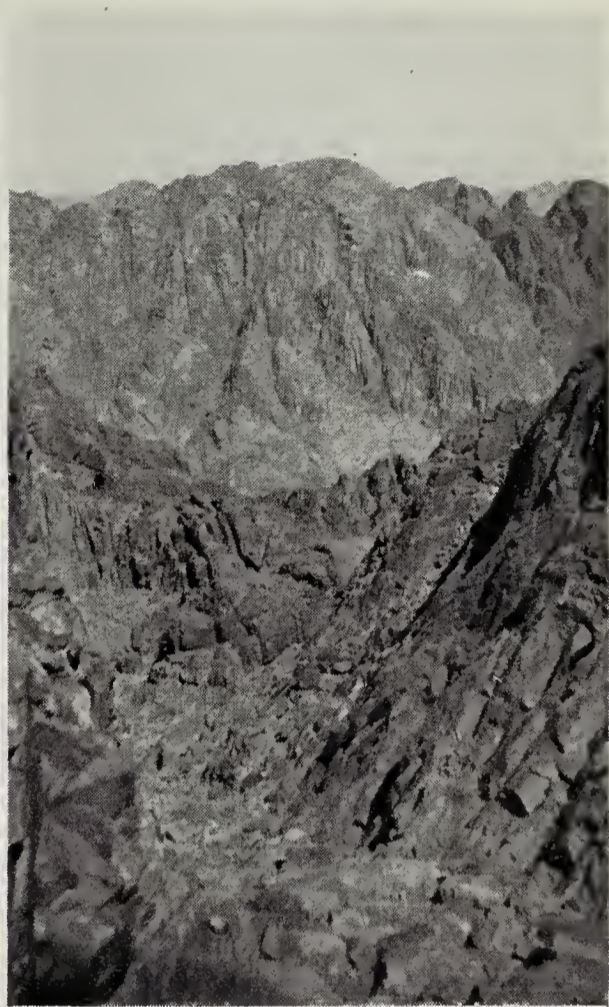
At the top of the steep ascent leading out of this ravine (Fig. 52) stands one of the two pilgrim portals, where in other days the pilgrim was stopped and confessed on his way to the holy mountain. Beyond this opens out the Plain of the Cyprus (Fig. 48), a wide space in the very heart of the mountain, in which is still a tree or two, extensive tanks for water and considerable remains of ancient buildings. It is enclosed by bold and barren masses of rock and reddish-brown and gray pinnacles of the hardest granite. To the north rise the dome heads of Ras es-Sufsafeh, the famous peak overlooking the Plain of er Rahah (see Figs. 42 and 43). To the south rises the highest peak of Sinai, the Jebel Musa, which we had not before really seen from any point. Its head is fully a mile distant from the cyprus tree and at least 700 feet higher up. Not many yards away is another rude building which contains the chapels of Elijah and Elisha. Its position can be seen on the left edge of the Figure 48, which contains the cyprus tree. In the chapel of Elijah and near the altar the monks show a hole just large enough for a man's body, which they suppose is the cave in which the prophet dwelt while visiting Horeb.

The final climb is up a steep slope which has been relieved of its difficulty by another stretch of the same rude stairway of perhaps a thousand steps, made by sliding hundreds of blocks and plates of granite into line and propping them where necessary by smaller stones. Before we reached the top a fairly cool wind was sweeping the summit and we took refuge for a time in the small chapel. The summit is a small area of some 80 feet in diameter, where stands

the dilapidated chapel once divided between the Greeks and Latins. Across a rocky space stands a ruined mosque where it is said the Arabs smear the blood of their sacrifices on the door. It was hopelessly unclean at our visit. Under the mosque is a grotto and near the chapel the remains of an apse, whose church seems to have extended to and to have included or enclosed the grotto itself. Such a church is mentioned by the pilgrim Silvia in the 4th century, when the grotto was supposed to be the place where Moses stood when the glory of the Lord passed by (Exodus 32:22). Certainly the spot is sublime enough for any such event.

The view, however, is not an impressive one compared with what travellers tell of the view from Serbal. It is another instance of the fact noted before, that it is not always the highest point of the mountain from which we obtain the finest view. There are too many nearer peaks which shut out the view, while a few miles away to the south, apparently a few thousand yards, rises Jebel Katharine, a thousand feet higher than Musa. It is, however, a wild and imposing outlook over the mountain chain and peaks and deep valleys. In clear weather the Red Sea and even the greater part of the Gulf of Akaba can be seen. It was with difficulty that we made out the waters of the Gulf of Akaba, and we saw nothing of the Red Sea by reason of the mists. Ras es Sufsafeh was clear and sharp beneath us toward the north.

We had here a much better view of a curious building on one of the peaks toward the Red Sea—the Chateau of Abbas Pasha—the story of which is told by Palmer as follows: “The foreground of this portion of the landscape is composed of monster masses of rugged granite, which glow like burnished copper in the sunlight. Among the forest of peaks may be distinguished a mountain, Jebel Tiniyeh, with a small white edifice upon its highest point. This is the half-finished palace of the late Abbas Pasha,



Plain of the Cyprus and Chapel
of Elijah
The only door to the Convent

In the heart of Sinai
A bit of Sinai's rugged shoulder

Viceroy of Egypt, who carried his mania for bricks and mortar even into the wilds of Sinai. Reckless debauchery had begun to tell upon the Pasha's constitution, and his medical advisers ordered him to try the desert air. He accordingly set out with a number of troops, and took up his quarters at the Convent of St. Katharine. Feeling the beneficial effects of the pure mountain air, he determined to build a palace in the neighborhood; and, in order to ascertain which was the most salubrious situation, he adopted the following original expedient: Joints of fresh meat were exposed on all the accessible mountain tops around, and that on which the flesh should remain for the longest time without corruption was to be declared the healthiest spot. The choice fell upon Jebel Tiniyeh; a road to the summit was constructed with great labor, and the foundations of this palace were laid. But before the building had progressed very far, his highness changed his viceregal mind, and, being influenced by the fables of the monks, decided to dwell upon the holy mountain itself, and so enjoy the benefit of Moses' special protection, as well as the advantages of the climate. As a preliminary measure, a road was commenced over a spur of the northern end of the mountain (Jebel Musa) at the mouth of the convent valley. This again was abandoned, and the road now known as 'the Pasha's Road' was ultimately constructed at the southeastern end of the block, and still forms the most convenient approach to the summit. Bedawin tradition furnishes us with the sequel to the story. 'The Pasha,' the Arabs say, 'went up to the mountain by the road which he had himself made. But his heart was full of evil designs, and he wished to desecrate the sanctity of the place. Wherefore our Lord Moses caught him before he reached the summit, and shook him sorely, so that he came down again in a terrible fright, cursed the land and all that were therein, and made the best of his way back to Egypt.' Within a few weeks of his return to Cairo he was murdered by a mameluke,

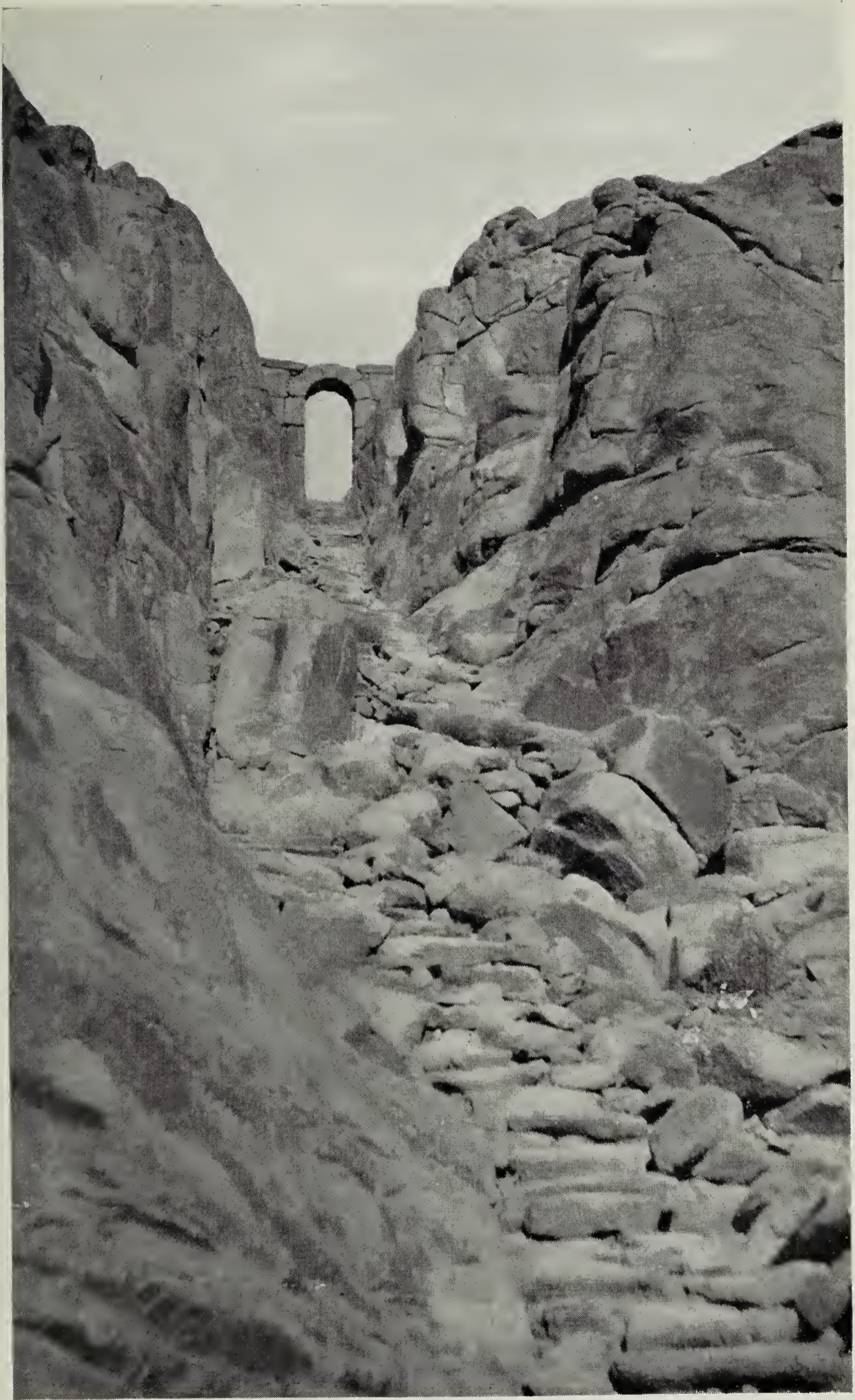
whom he had discovered in an intrigue with one of the ladies of his harem; but the unfinished palace stands upon the mountain still—a strange memorial of human fickleness and folly.”

Abbas Pasha commenced a road from Tor on the Red Sea *via* Wady Hebran, but it was never completed. His camel track up Jebel Musa from the end of the Convent Valley to a point within 500 feet of the summit still proves serviceable, for it is up this winding road that the monks still bring lime and timbers to keep the rude chapels in repair. Among other dry stories of Abbas Pasha is one told by the monks, who say that during his stay at the Convent he was so much impressed with the sanctity of the “Shrine of the Burning Bush” that he preferred saying his daily prayers upon its soft-carpeted floor rather than prostrate himself upon the hard pavement of the whitewashed mosque.

After an hour or more on the summit we felt like doing justice to Brother Gabriel’s luncheon, which was composed of bread, olives, caviare, halawy, good water, masticque and coffee. Then we made our way down, loath to leave such a sublime spot so high above the burning sands of the seashore, so far away from the cares of civilization and so close to the centuries of the remote world of Moses and the Exodus.

It cost us two and a half hours of climbing to mount the 2700 feet above our camp, but we made our way down easily in one hour and twenty minutes, having lifted and lowered our own frames through this 5400 feet on our noiseless and overtired leg muscles.

Later in the afternoon the Economos Eugenios and Brother Gabriel came by invitation to our tents for a cup of tea *à la française*, and a pleasant visit it proved to be. The elder of the two told us the story of Arabi Pasha’s rebellion in 1882, and the plan of certain Moslems at that time to attack and demolish this ancient monastery and



Jebel Musa, Pilgrim Gate and a bit of the Stairway

thus wipe out the last trace of Christian occupation in the peninsula. I was leading him on to get his version of Palmer's sad death at that time, but he was not allowed to complete the story because Sheikh Hammadi, the head of our cameleers, came to announce the arrival of Musa Bu Nasir, the sheikh of the sheikhs of the whole of the Sinaitic Peninsula. It was he to whom Naoum Beg Shucair had given us letters of introduction and which letters we had sent by one of his relatives from near el Buwaib. When the old man and his retainers came slowly forward we were greatly impressed by his face and eagle eye; his unusually large figure, though bent with age, his bearing as a prince of this ancient desert and his splendid clothing and beautiful sword. He would have made a perfect artist study for the patriarch Abraham. He took his place at our table and, together with his son, was served with tea and almost every sweetmeat in our canteen. He made profuse apologies for not having come sooner his two days' journey on camels, but we assured him that we would inform our British friends in Egypt that nothing had been left undone for our safety and comfort in Sinai. He remained for two days in the courtyard of the Monastery and made all the arrangements for our caravan to Akaba. Mr. Taylor attempted a photograph of the truly picturesque circle under the trees in front of our tents, but the shadows in that valley fall early and I have yet to learn how successful he was. Some of the monks had attempted to teach his son to read, so that he was almost the only man of the tribes who could do anything with a book. We gave him an Arabic Bible, turning down the leaves at the story of Moses and Sinai, which he promised to read. In doing so we were again impressed with the fact of Arabic etiquette, according to which the son never opens his mouth in the father's presence unless commanded to do so in answering a question.

CHAPTER XX

THE SOUL OF THE HEBREW RACE

SINAI is, without doubt, the birthplace of the soul of the Hebrew people, that standing miracle of human history. Now the *soul* of a people usually lives at home, and each succeeding century of sorrow and struggle and suffering renders more hallowed and sacred the shrines at which the soul of the nation kneels. The soul of the Hebrew people, conceived in Egyptian bondage, born among the sublimities of Sinai, carried them through the Exodus, the conquest, the occupation of the Promised Land, the glories of the monarchy and out again into exile. And all the centuries of human history since then seem but to repeat this cycle of bondage, deliverance, promised land, great exaltation and then exile. It was so among the heathen nations of antiquity, it seems to be destined to be so among the nominal Christian nations of the modern world, except in the lands where English is spoken and Evangelical Christianity is the form of faith—England and the United States. Other nations and peoples have lived and flourished and passed away for ever. Other peoples have been driven from ancestral homes and in the course of centuries have completely forgotten their origin and history. But here is a people scattered over the earth to-day, citizens of many nations, yet still fired and inspired by inextinguishable memories of the bondage in Egypt, the Exodus, the Promised Land, the Monarchy and the Exile; suffering, struggling, succeeding, failing, and still longing for and expecting deliverance, and all its greatness, its knowledge of God, its mission of law and prophecy and promised re-

demption for the race dating back to Sinai. What can be the secret of this superhuman mission to the sons of men?

When we cast off the last link of our multiplex connections with the modern world at Suez and turned our camels' faces to the desert, we willingly abandoned ourselves to the charm and spell of this most remote Old Testament world with a hope that we might fathom some of the soul qualities of the Hebrew people. After many days in that desert and nights beneath its stars it would seem as though I could never again shake myself free from the smell of the desert, the swing of the camel, the loneliness of those awful peaks in Sinai, the helplessness of these hungry Arabs, and the mystery of that Hebrew soul born amid these surroundings. It must have been that some "light that never was, on sea or land" shined into that Hebrew soul with more than "the consecration and the poet's dream" to bear them through the necessities of their pathetic history. It has been said that the soul of a people is "an inward life of ideals, sentiment, ruling passions, embodying itself in an outward life of forms, customs, institutions, relations—a process as vital, as spontaneous, as inevitable as the growth of a child into a man." And frequently that soul can best be seen and understood by looking through the eyes of nature.

Now the ideals, sentiments, ruling passions of the Hebrew soul were at Sinai, in God's providence, fused and crystallized into the laws, customs, and worship which have been the outward covering of that soul through all Hebrew history. And undoubtedly the silence, the loneliness, the isolation, the adamant fiber of that primeval granite entered into their conceptions of God and has kept them separate, lonely and sublimely faithful to their ideals through the centuries. Why they clung so faithfully to Moses and failed to listen to that "greater than Moses" of their own blood is only *one* of the mysteries of their history. For fully 1300 years Christians have kept their

shrines for them in Sinai and the Holy Land, with the undefined, inextinguishable hope that some day the ancient people would come back from their long bondage and exile of 2000 years among the nations of the earth, and find in the idealized and spiritualized Promised Land the goal of their hope and expectation—the Messiah whom somehow they failed to recognize 1900 years ago. Christian nations will gladly give them back their ancestral home, their temple and their city. Will they accept it? And if the Christian peoples of the earth wish to blot out the dark stains of persecution and misunderstanding of the Hebrew race and to study once again the mission and ideals of that ancient race, then Hebrew and Christian must go again to Sinai and kneel together in the presence of their common God.

Then whatever be the flippant conception of the ignorant traveller concerning the life and habits of the monks at Sinai, over their blundering and imperfect faith—perhaps no more blundering and imperfect than the lives of the best of us, considering our light and opportunity—will be thrown the robe of perfect charity and a crown, because they will not have kept their vigil of thirteen centuries in vain.

CHAPTER XXI

THE BIBLICAL ATMOSPHERE OF SINAI

WHILE the making and setting up of the Tabernacle at Sinai does not properly fall within the discussion of this book, I cannot refrain from pointing out several important facts which in turn open up lines of argument bearing upon the historicity of the Exodus.

(1) The materials of the Tabernacle are wholly those from Egypt and Sinai, and not from Arabia, Palestine or farther north and east. The Egyptians have in all ages been famous tent-makers and are to the present day. And what we call the "tabernacle" was really a "tent," as the Revisers of our English Bible have clearly shown in the use of "tent" instead of "tabernacle." No simpler dwelling can well be imagined, and its amplification and decoration for a religious center is wholly along Egyptian lines inside and out. (2) The Shittim wood, out of which the boards, tables, etc., of the Tabernacle were formed, is the *only* wood suitable for such purposes found in Sinai. Its name in Arabic is *Seyyal*. Now *Seyyal* is a derivation from the Hebrew-Arabic root "*sayl*" or "*seil*," meaning "torrent" or "water-spout." Hence the *Seyyal* is the *torrent tree*, the characteristic tree of the desert wadis of Sinai, et Tih and the region of the Dead Sea. Its¹ wood is heavier than water, exceeding hard, with fine grain, yellow near the sap and brown at the heart. It is never attacked by insects and is, therefore, eminently suited for furniture in a climate where insects commit such ravages as in the desert and in Palestine. The trunks of the *Seyyal* tree are frequently two feet thick. The value of its timber is on

¹ "H. D. B.," Vol. I, p. 507.

account of its durability. It makes excellent charcoal and is, moreover, the tree which yields the famous gum Arabic.

(3) Copper was being mined by the Egyptians at Wady Nasb above Wady Baba (p. 113) before and after the Exodus.

(4) One of the old objections raised against the making of the Tabernacle at Sinai was the matter of the "badgers' skins" which formed one of the coverings. As a matter of fact, badgers, found in moderate numbers in Palestine and Syria, are almost unknown in Sinai, certainly not plentiful enough in all these districts to furnish skins enough for a covering as large as that of the "tabernacle." Such skins would, moreover, be too light for the rough desert life, and still less fitted for sandals (Ezek. 16: 10), where the same word and skin are mentioned. But it has long been known that the Hebrew word *Tahash*, as well as the same word in Arabic, means "dolphin," and the Revised Version of the Bible has rightly changed the translation of "badgers' skins" to "seal-skins," meaning "porpoise-skins." This particular porpoise, called by the Arabs "dugong," is found in great numbers up and down the arms of the Red Sea, and especially in the Gulf of Akaba. Its flesh is eaten, but the most important part is the skin, which is tanned and made into the leather which our Sinai cameleers wore in the shape of sandals. There would not have been the slightest difficulty in procuring enough of these dolphin skins to make just such a covering as was required for the "tabernacle." So here also the geography and sea-products of the peninsula exactly fit the requirements for the making of the Tabernacle.

And the climate of Sinai and the desert beyond, especially in Edom and Moab, certainly required this extra heavy leather covering in order to protect the finer inner coverings of red rams' skins, of goats' hair and the still more precious Oriental tapestry covered with the figures of the mystic Cherubim and woven in colors of the richest dyes, violet

and purple and scarlet. Currelly, a modern traveller in Sinai,¹ tells of snow and intense cold in Sinai, when the water in their tanks froze to a thickness of over an inch during the night. Palmer tells of snow and intense cold just above Petra,² and Professor Libbey and I experienced a memorable storm in Edom.³

(5) I am also convinced for a number of good reasons that after the Children of Israel had made good their escape from Egypt and were actually in the district of Sinai, there would be no reason why they should not have backward communications with Egypt and easily secure everything that they might need from that source in the making of the Tabernacle. The actual distance for messengers or lightly laden animals would have presented no bar. That all the Children of Israel went out at one time in the Exodus is against reason and fact. A papyrus⁴ still gives us the names of the civil and military officers charged, in the reign of Rameses III, about a hundred years after the Exodus, with the oversight of 2083 Hebrews residing at On, who were descendants of some who did not wish or who failed to escape at the earlier date.

Bezaleel, meaning "the shadow of God," was the man chosen to do the art work of the "tabernacle" (Exodus 31: 2), and some curious light has been thrown upon his profession by the discovery of splendid specimens of the Egyptian jewellers' art in the days of the XII Dynasty at Deir el Bahari. We know the name of the chief artist of Mentuhotep's reign.⁵ He was called Mertisen, and he thus describes himself on his tombstone from Abydos, now preserved in the Louvre: "I was an artist skilled in my art. I knew my art, how to represent the forms of going forth and returning, so that each limb may be in its proper place. I knew how the figure of a man should walk and the car-

¹ "P. R. S.," pp. 231, 237.

² "P. D. E.," pp. 371, 372.

³ "J. V. and P.," Vol. II, pp. 12-16.

⁴ "G. H. B.," Vol. I, p. 18.

⁵ "E. and W. A.," p. 331.

riage of a woman, the poisoning of the arm to bring the hippopotamus low, the going of the runner. I knew how to make amulets, which enable us to go without fire burning us and without the flood washing us away. No man could do this but I, and the eldest son of my body. Him has the god decreed to excel in art, and I have seen the perfection of the work of his hands in every kind of rare stone, in gold and silver, in ivory and ebony." Now since Mertisen and his son were the chief artists of their day, it is more than probable that they were employed to decorate their King's funerary chapel. So that in all probability the XI Dynasty reliefs from Bahari are the work of Mertisen and his son.

The names of the sculptor and painter of Seti I's temple at Abydos have been recovered and that of the sculptor of some of the tombs at Tel el Amarna, but otherwise very few names of the artists are directly associated with the temples and tombs which they decorated, and of the architects we know little more. But one of these rare items again fits into our story in the fact that the great temple at Deir el Bahari was designed by Senmut, the chief architect of Queen Hatshepsut, and the same architect or one of his helpers or pupils may well have reared the Hanafiyehs of Hatshepsut at Serabît. Why may not Bezaleel have been one of the school of trained artists who were employed and encouraged by Queen Hatshepsut? All of which facts fill us with expectation that future discoveries will reveal a thousand interesting coincidences that we now have no clue of. Hence it is a clear and simple fact when we say that the whole atmosphere of Sinai is that of the Bible down to the most unimportant details, and that no other combination of mountain, desert, oasis and seashore has ever been seen or discovered which meets the requirements of the narratives. The imaginary location in "Midian" ought to be assigned to the Jerahmeelites and laid decently away for ever.

CHAPTER XXII

THE RAINFALL AND WATER-SUPPLY IN SINAI

THE rainfall in Sinai does not seem to have changed since 5000 B. C. The all-important bearing of this upon the ancient population and the numbers of the Children of Israel who went out in the Exodus has already been referred to. There are at least three lines of exploration and investigation which contribute indirect testimony of the highest possible value—flint knapping, the inscriptions in Sinai and the traces of ancient mining enterprises.

A few years ago nothing was known of paleolithic Egypt, that is, the valley of the Nile in the most ancient stone age. Many writers, adopting the idea that the paleolithic days of Egypt were contemporary with the glacial age of northern Europe, took for granted that the climate of Egypt in those days must have been entirely different from that of to-day. Instead of a dry desert on either side of the Nile, they pictured those mountain plateaus as covered with forests, through which flowed countless streams to feed the dry wadis and watercourses which empty into the Nile below. "And the flints which the Paleolithic inhabitants of the plateau forests made and used were left on the now treeless and sunbaked desert surface." But this weak conclusion has been abandoned, and the "great forests and torrential rains" have been pushed farther back in antiquity, if, indeed, they ever had an existence at all, because it is perfectly clear that the ancient flint knappers used these already barren slopes as their open-air workshops, and that the flint cores and chips and weapons lie exactly where they fell from the flint knapper's hand, and are but bleached and patinated by ages of fierce sunlight.

Now, the valley of the Nile is less than 150 miles due west from the peaks of Sinai, and we certainly are justified in assuming the same climatic condition in such a closely adjacent region. Flints gathered in Sinai point to exactly the same conclusions. The paleolithic man knapped the flints where he found them. He left the chips and the useless cores on the spot. Hence the constant rainfall and dense vegetation of the paleolithic age in Sinai is a myth.

The inscriptions in Sinai about Maghareh and Serabît give a double testimony. The many steles of sandstone and especially the inscriptions above the ancient mines show no signs of weathering, which would, of course, be absolutely impossible in any climate with any known rainfall. But some of the steles at Serabît, in their detailed accounts of the personnel and commissariat of the royal mining expeditions, lay great stress upon the number of animals employed in bringing water, and point unmistakably to climatic conditions exactly similar to those of to-day.

The valleys and strata where copper was mined in ancient times are now well known, as are also the locations of the smelting furnaces. Now, in most instances the ore was carried long distances from mine to smelter for exactly the same reason that it would need to be carried to-day, namely, to where fuel and water existed in even the most meager quantities. The débris of smelting furnaces at the plain of el Markah and Wady Gharundal are well-known instances, pointing to ancient climatic conditions as similar, if not identical, with those of to-day.

References have been and will be made to the traces of torrential floods found in the great valleys of Sinai. Twenty miles below the oasis of Feiran we saw great trunks of palm trees which had undoubtedly been carried from the oasis all that distance by angry waters. Rev. F. W. Holland, visiting the Wady Selaf in 1867, witnessed a great *seil* or flood which carried away an Arab encampment. Forty

souls, together with many camels, sheep and cattle, perished in the waters. Mr. Holland narrowly escaped losing his life. He describes the scene as "something terrible to witness; a boiling, roaring torrent filled the entire valley, carrying down huge boulders of rock as though they had been so many pebbles, while whole families swept by, hurried on to destruction by the resistless course of the flood."

Such calamities are, happily, exceedingly rare, but their possibility is explainable. Because the mountains of Sinai, both peaks and slopes, are of bare granite, with only the most insignificant patches of soil at rare intervals about their bases, even the lightest rainfall is shed as from an iron roof, and invariably produces the dreaded *seil* or water-spout in some of the surrounding valleys. Much as the thirst-parched Arabs long and pray for moisture and water, they ever dread the noise of the water-spout among these mountain peaks.

While in Sinai we enquired carefully of the monks concerning the rainfall, and the head of the monastery, who has lived there since 1866, a period of 43 years, told us that not infrequently there were periods of three and four years in which no rain fell. The winter of 1907-08 was one of "much snow," but the total fall did not exceed 20 inches. Up to February 27, 1909, neither rain nor snow had fallen during the winter of 1908-09.

For the benefit of those who may follow our footsteps through Sinai I may add the following suggestions as to their water-supply: We filled our water barrels at Suez from the filtered water of the Sweet-water Canal from the Nile. Our camels drank at the Wells of Moses. Three days later, at Elim, we poured the remains of the Nile water into one barrel and refilled the second from the Elim water, which was plenty good enough for cooking purposes and even for drinking had it been necessary. This supply easily carried us through two more dry camps to the Oasis of Feiran. Here we had a general cleaning up of the water barrels and

filled again for the one dry camp between the oasis and Sinai.

At Sinai we again filled from the cleanest of the Monastery wells, and this supplied us for two more dry camps until we reached Wady el Ain. If only caravans could make an early start from Sinai they could reach Hazeroth comfortably on the second day, but the customary delays seem almost unavoidable. Camping on the sands at Hazeroth would be a delightful experience, even though the baggage camels might have to make a detour to get into the oasis. Another day would carry the camp to the seashore at Nuweiba, where the well in the fort is available.

We filled at Wady el Ain for the three dry camps between that and Akaba. Even with the scarcity of water, we spent our Sunday in the Coral Cove Camp, because we passed Nuweiba on Friday. Had we been one day earlier we could have reached Akaba before Sunday. As it was, we used the last drop of water in camp, excepting, of course, our personal canteens, and these were also exhausted before we reached Akaba.

If travellers plan to use camels between Akaba and Ma'an they need not be troubled about the water-supply. If, however, they secure mules and horses, as we did, and are accompanied by mounted soldiers, they will do well to get out of Akaba in time to cover the five hours to Ain Haldi in Wady Yetem, which lies one hour beyond the Arab burying-ground, called Abu Jiddeh. The next day they can pitch at Guwairah, where the water-supply is meager, in case of an Arab encampment being near by or anything in the shape of a military post, as we found there. The next day will carry the camp to the great fountains of Abul Lisan, an hour beyond Fuweileh, at the top of the pass Nakb Estar.

It hardly seems necessary to repeat what has been pointed out so many times, that the *Route* of the Children of Israel in the Exodus must have been irrevocably fixed in Sinai,

in the "Desert of the Wandering," about Mount Hor and in Edom and Moab, by the springs and fountains and wells of water. And these, in turn, had already determined the main lines of the great roads of antiquity. But another consideration of importance can well be urged at this point. It is an instinct of the desert with bands of Arabs, great and small, to pitch some distance away from the water-supply for considerations of greater safety. We have noted the fact in connection with the little fountain at el Buwaib, and will note the same at Fuweileh in the land of Edom. The Children of Israel did apparently the same thing here at Sinai, on the supposition that the Oasis of Feiran was the rallying place for the people with their flocks and herds, while the Tabernacle was hidden in the secluded fastnesses at Sinai. The same fact will be noticed at Kadesh Barnea, where Ain Kadis is some two hours or more east of the great roads of the desert.

It may also be noted here that the whole supply along the Route would be hopelessly inadequate for 3,000,000 souls and certainly most distressingly meager for the greatly reduced numbers. The finest stream of all at the Oasis of Feiran would hardly fill a *ten-inch pipe* at the main source, and the stream falls only 75 meters (250 feet) within a distance of two and a half miles. The reduced numbers could have survived on the present water-supply, but not without all the difficulties and haunting memories of the Scriptural account of that immortal pilgrimage.

CHAPTER XXIII

KADESH BARNEA AND THE "DESERT OF THE WANDERINGS"

IT has been my aim hitherto to avoid burdening the pages of this book, and the patience of the reader, with purely technical discussions of linguistic or archæological problems. My desire is to establish the historicity of the Exodus in its larger and stronger features for the average student of the Word of God by something of the personal touch in linking the record with the locations named therein. While for years I have eagerly desired to enter what is called the Desert of the Wanderings, I have as yet been unable to do so. I have passed completely round it, looked over it from more than one mountain peak, but it still remains for me "the promised land." Only a few months ago I contemplated a dash, but friends and acquaintances about Jerusalem and Gaza, government and civil, declared it physically impossible in the present hostile situation of the Arab tribes toward each other and toward all foreigners. But I do not for a moment despair of entering that land and of completing what is partially accomplished in this volume and the two volumes "The Jordan Valley and Petra"—the personal examination of the Route of the Exodus from Raamses to Jericho.

The section from Egypt to Sinai we have covered, and in doing so have faced all the great questions centering round the Problem of the Exodus. In the following chapters we have to deal only with the Route, and as a preliminary let us make a short review of the sources of our Biblical knowledge.

Exodus begins with the story of the oppression of Israel in Egypt and ends with the setting up of the Tabernacle at Sinai. Eighteen chapters describe the deliverance of the Children of Israel through Moses, and the remaining twenty-two the organization of the Israelites at Sinai.

Leviticus is but a portion of the priestly law and history book embedded within the Hexateuch. Its four main divisions—the manual of offerings (1-7), the consecration of the Priesthood (8-10), the laws of ceremonial purity (11-16) and the law of holiness (17-27)—deal wholly with the organization of the worship at Sinai, and give absolutely no information concerning either the problem or route of the Exodus.

The book of Numbers carries on the history of Israel in the wilderness from the second to the fortieth year of the Exodus. But in addition to the picturesque narrative, which begins properly at chapter 10 and continues through to the 25th, it also contains a large amount of statistical and legal matter. The double census as given in chapters 1 to 4 and 26 has already been dealt with in Chapter XIV, on "The Numbers of the Children of Israel," p. 163. The other most important section of the Book of Numbers, as far as we are concerned, is the Itinerary given in chapter 33.

The Book of Deuteronomy, as its name indicates, is a general restatement of the whole preceding legislation in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, but it also contains in narrative form a résumé (chapters 1-4) of Israel's experiences between Horeb and the Plains of Moab. Again, in chapters 27 and 29 to 34 it gives entirely new material bearing upon the meaning of God's dealings with the Children of Israel in the Exodus and the death of Moses. The primary purpose of all three books, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, being a *religious* one, and neither historical nor, much less, geographical, all the information gained is by following the narrative backward and forward

with all the clues possible, and the final test the correction or corroboration of this narrative with the land itself. (See the Itinerary by Auchincloss, Chapter VIII.)

For our own purposes we have divided up the Route of the Children of Israel into four sections: (I) from Rameses to Sinai, (II) from Sinai to Akaba, (III) from Akaba to Kadesh Barnea and back, and (IV) from Akaba to Jericho. The Biblical material, however, can be much more satisfactorily divided into three sections: (1) from Egypt to Sinai, (2) from Sinai to Kadesh and (3) from Kadesh to Jericho. These divisions in themselves reveal much of the Divine purpose. They marched from Egypt to Sinai, where they were to receive the Law. They marched from Sinai to Kadesh with the intention of attacking the Canaanites. Then, as a people, after the return of the spies, they rushed prematurely to their defeat at Hormah, and delayed thus their entrance into the Promised Land for many years. Even so did Moses delay their escape from a bondage by his hasty killing of the Egyptian (Ex. 2: 11-14). It is of great importance, however, to note when the Bible record touches these definitely planned marches from Sinai to Kadesh and from Kadesh to Jericho, the itineraries are minute and explicit and the chronology carefully recorded. But while the record of these thirty-seven unhappy, blundering and rebellious years crowded into a few sentences the echoes of that sad period, the marks of their extreme suffering are heard and seen in all the subsequent centuries of Hebrew history.

The chief interest, as already hinted at, centers about the Itinerary which is found in chapter 33 of the book of Numbers. It enumerates forty-one stages between Rameses, the starting-point of the Exodus, and the encampment of the Israelites by the river Jordan. It is a pure accident that the forty stations therein named coincide with the forty years which the Children of Israel spent on the way.

In connection with the Itinerary there are two dates: "the date of the start ('the fifteenth day of the first month of the year') and the date of Aaron's death, which took place on the first day of the fifth month of the fortieth year and at the thirty-third station."

Now, eleven of these stations are easily assignable to the first year: those between Egypt and Sinai; nine of them certainly belong to the last year, which leaves twenty-one belonging to the thirty-eight years of the wandering. I have already referred to the fact that the distances between camping-places do not necessarily mean a single day's journey, but as in modern travel through these same deserts as well as is seen clearly on the Pilgrimage Route to Mecca, it is the distance between locations where water is found sufficient for the needs of the caravans accustomed to make use of those routes. There is a curious suggestion of this fact in the Itinerary itself, where certain of the verses speak of "pitching" and others of "encamping," which corresponds exactly to the customs of the caravans. In Numbers 11:3, 35, and 33:18, 26, 30, 34, and 35, the Itinerary speaks of camps, and in fourteen intermediate locations they simply pitched. One at least of these stages between Ezion Geber and Kadesh is 70 miles long and, of course, could not have been covered in less than six or seven days.

It must be borne in mind that the route and camping-places of the Children of Israel do not include a line of cities, and that many of the names, given by the Children of Israel themselves in remembrance of local happenings within the camps, are necessarily lost; sixteen are mentioned nowhere outside the Itinerary. A fair number of them have been carried forward through all history and remain the same until the present day; others had meanings known to have been translated into other languages, and it is safe to say that out of eighty place names on or near this Itinerary forty are known and identified with all certainty,

ten more are tentatively located, another ten have been conjectured, leaving only fifteen or twenty of minor importance which are practically lost. We can easily pick from the whole number a series which fixes the general line of the route, leaving only the less important locations in between still to be identified. As we have already seen, the Fountains of Moses, Elim, Maghareh and the Oasis of Feiran, fix the Route between Egypt and Sinai, and with just as much certainty, Hazeroth, Kadesh Barnea and Ezion Geber fix the general line of route in the sections 2 and 3 according to our division, while Mount Hor, Ezion Geber, Ma'an, the brook Zered, the Arnon, Dibon, Madeba and Nebo fix it without a peradventure in the fourth or last section. The greatest difficulties cluster about the route from Sinai through Hazeroth to Kadesh Barnea, where the Children of Israel spent more than thirty-seven years of the period consumed between Egypt and the Promised Land.

The story of the discussions concerning the southern boundary of Palestine and Kadesh Barnea is one that would fill many volumes. The Biblical references to it might be expected to exceed those of any other location, whereas, as a matter of fact, the history of those thirty-seven years is almost a blank. Many of the important events recorded in the semi-historical portions of Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy are referred to this period, but whether they occurred in the first, twentieth or thirty-fifth year it is impossible to say. Dr. H. Clay Trumbull, in his volume on "Kadesh Barnea," has covered all the Biblical indications concerning the site, together with a perfect mine of information collected out of Egyptian records, rabbinical writings and early Christian name lists. But because this region has never been invaded by a foreign army since the days of Chedorlaomer (Genesis 14) and because it has lain completely outside of the stream of all modern history and is possessed by suspicious, warlike

and hostile Bedawin tribes, it has dropped out of notice for a period of at least 1500 years.

Since the revival of learning and geographical research, travellers at rare intervals have crossed this desert tract and brought back meager and tantalizing accounts of what they saw in the way of ancient ruins, the water-supply and the more prominent features of this unknown land. The general route taken by these older travellers was the beaten track from Sinai northward through Nakhl to Gaza, and more rarely to Hebron. All, however, give clear indications of the fact already referred to (p. 42), that this district was most certainly crossed by several of the ancient roads of antiquity, and the more recent study of the facts reported give clear indications as to the general direction and location of those ancient roads. Chedorlaomer and his invading army found space and water enough in the vicinity of Kadesh Barnea for his great invading host, and by inference this fact easily establishes what we have hitherto contended for, that this district, long before the days of the Children of Israel, contained well-known roads connecting Egypt with Mesopotamia.

Modern discussions and investigations make it clear that out of Egypt across this isthmus and peninsula of Sinai went at least three well-known roads. That along the seacoast north was called "the way of the land of the Philistines" (Ex. 13: 17), that through the center of the isthmus and desert, looking eastward through the delta, was the "way of Shur" (Gen. 16: 7), and that across the peninsula to the head of the Gulf of Akaba, by way of Nakhl with its secondary and better watered loop through Sinai, was the "way of the Red Sea." Now, it is established almost beyond a peradventure that this middle road passing through what is marked on our modern maps as the Desert of the Wandering, entered the District of Kadesh Barnea and led down across the Arabah either directly to Petra or by less easy routes which climbed through well-

known passes by way of Tafeleh and Kerak (Kir-Hareseth) to Edom and Moab, and then north of the Syrian desert to Mesopotamia.

Among the great explorers of this district must be ranked Robinson and Palmer. Robinson stands without a peer in the investigation and identification of Biblical sites, but in the matter of Kadesh Barnea he made perhaps the only slip in all his great task. He entered that section of the world thoroughly prepared for his work by an accurate knowledge of almost all that had ever been written or recorded by the writers of all lands and languages. Palmer, whose name will be for ever connected with the Desert of the Exodus, was an explorer of equal ability, but of an entirely different type. He had given little attention to the records of the past and of other explorers, and one can but wish that for the sake of results he could have had a fraction of the accurate information possessed by Robinson. He suggests the experience of a well-educated man wholly ignorant of chemistry placed for the moment in a modern laboratory and offered an opportunity of working out the problems of chemistry, with but a suggestion of the information and training which had brought that laboratory into existence. His journeyings in company with Lieutenant Drake through the Desert of the Exodus are fascinating, and the amount of accurate information gathered fully justifies his claim to the great fame and admiration attached to his name. He made two memorable journeys in 1868-69 and 1869-70, and has blazed the way for all future travellers who will ever study the topography of the Exodus. His great linguistic gifts, his love for life among all manner of strange people, his passion for learning always from men rather than from books, fitted him peculiarly for this pioneer work in the Desert of the Exodus. Twelve years after his second journey, when the British Government was facing its troublesome task of subduing the rebellion of Arabi Pasha in Egypt, Palmer was asked

by the Government to assist in this task. Although in poor health he responded to the call. His mission was to enter this same desert country and by his personal influence, fortified perhaps by the use of gold, to prevent the Arab tribes from joining the rebellious Egyptians, and to secure from them a supply of camels and guides for use in the Egyptian campaign. Entering the country at Gaza, he made his way safely through the Bedawin tribes to Suez, and then returning with a Captain Gill for a second visit, both he and his companion were murdered in August, 1882, under most tragic circumstances. The British Government by means of a special expedition recovered their remains, which now lie buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

The absolute identification of the water-supply at Kadesh Barnea is perhaps still an open question, but the question of its general location has been settled for ever. Many, many years ago the location was sought for by name, but the wretched Bedawin, knowing of the many remains of ancient buildings, which they almost invariably referred to former Christian owners, are for ever suspicious of the coming of Christian travellers from any direction, and almost fiendishly opposed to the sight of a barometer, a camera, or any sort of surveying instrument. Almost by accident clues were obtained to the existence of a plain and water-supply whose names contained the long-sought-for word, which in Arabic is the exact equivalent in letter and meaning with the ancient Kadesh. The location in general is fixed and identified by a fountain which still bears the name Ain Kadis.¹

This recovery and identification, as recorded in Dr. Trumbull's fascinating volume, begins with Mr. Rowland's

¹ I will not trouble the reader with the technicalities of language involved nor with the many forms under which this modern name appears. Those who wish to study the problem of this identification through all its ramifications, ancient and modern, will find an overflowing abundance of material and information in the volume already referred to, "Kadesh Barnea," by Dr. H. C. Trumbull.

famous letter written in 1845 and published as an Appendix to Williams' "Holy City," p. 487. This letter opened a discussion which can hardly be said to be closed after a period of more than 65 years. Dr. Trumbull, who visited Sinai in 1881 and returned by way of Nakhl, conceived the idea while in that neighborhood of making a dash for the site of Kadesh Barnea in order to verify and, if possible, end the discussion which had then continued for some 35 years. He succeeded, by much ingenuity and not a little danger and expense, in reaching all three of the great fountains in that district, the easternmost one of which is now tentatively accepted as Ain Kadis. It was after his return, however, that he took up the study of the whole problem with the carefulness and enthusiasm which have produced the memorable volume already referred to, bearing the name of "Kadesh Barnea."

Many other travellers have attempted to penetrate this district since the death of Palmer in 1882, but that event, and the subsequent punishment of Arabs who were not perhaps the guilty individuals, has increased the difficulties of the situation to such an extent that very little of real value has been accomplished. The British Government, pressed by the Palestine Exploration Fund and all societies and individuals interested in Biblical problems, has issued a large map, in sections, of the Sinai Peninsula, which it has compiled from the best available information, but which it carefully points out cannot be considered reliable.

The Boundary Commission in 1906 replaced the stones and marks destroyed by some one connected with the Turkish Government, took careful and accurate observations of all the prominent peaks and valleys along the new boundary line, but outside of that district the positions of all other valleys and ruins and natural objects are only approximate and the drawing of the hill features is generally conventional. The great value of this extensive and

detailed map for future explorers is in the large collection of Arabic names, which have been gathered and placed close to the districts or objects to which they belong. It is certain that many of these names will furnish clues to ancient locations and fountains connected with the history of the Children of Israel, and it is devoutly to be hoped that travellers and explorers capable of making proper use of them will gain entrance and freedom of movement all through this fascinating district. The modern camera will also bring back a wealth of pictorial information.

Among the results already gathered from the books of Robinson and Palmer, and other fragmentary material, are these: The southern boundary of the Promised Land, as referred to in the surveys of Joshua, certainly hinges or pivots at Kadesh Barnea, bending toward the northeast on the one end, and then westward across the isthmus on the other, and corresponds in general to the limits of the arable and agricultural district of the Negeb or South Country. The district south of this boundary line is the desert proper, and contains large sections of really mountainous district in which are found oases similar but much smaller than similar districts and oases about Sinai. Moreover, almost the whole desert, so called, shows traces of ancient cities and fortifications which may easily date to the period of the Exodus. And there dwelt the Amorites and Hivites, into conflict with whom the Children of Israel came during the period of their wanderings. The whole district is so bare and destitute of water, which necessarily includes other means of sustenance, that it fulfills admirably "that great and terrible wilderness" in which the Children of Israel spent the weariest years of their history, which experience has always been and will always be inseparably connected with their bondage in Egypt and deliverance prior to their entrance into the Promised Land.

There is little doubt also, when the light of real discovery is focused upon this section of the Route, that many

interesting facts will appear which, in turn, will modify to a greater or lesser extent our understanding and conception of that which preceded and that which followed their sojourn at Kadesh Barnea. And here, in this vicinity, if ever, will be found material remains in the shape of lost or mislaid weapons, utensils, jewelry or coins of the Children of Israel and their sojourn in the Wilderness.

Just as the sands of Egypt have covered and kept for us the marvelous monuments of Egypt, and just as the hieroglyphics of once unknown languages have for us unlocked their treasures, so also this desert waste may yet reveal in hitherto unknown forms information long desired concerning this wonderful event of human history.

Once again we are brought face to face with the fact that the Children of Israel were not "wanderers" in a trackless waste during the whole of the forty years. There was enough desert and enough hardship to justify every reference made to it, but it is now clear that Kadesh Barnea was one among a number of small oases which supplied an altogether inadequate and precarious water-supply for even the reduced numbers of the Israelites. I am using *oases* in the sense of low valleys or pockets among the desert mountains where a small amount of moisture was collected and retained. But if present climatic conditions prevailed in those days, as we have every reason to believe, there must have been many a year in those thirty-seven when half the oases were completely dried up and the people with their flocks reduced to dire extremity. And under all circumstances, if any of the ancient inhabitants remained after the Hebrew invasion, then there must have been incessant strife over the wells and water-supply.

Instead of "wandering," in the sense "of having lost one's way," they roamed from district to district with their flocks, but returned sooner or later to the central encampment at Kadesh Barnea, where, no doubt, the ark remained during most of the period. Numbers 14:33 gives the

proper sense of the word, where the Revised Bible, as also the Arabic, places "shepherds" in the text and "wanderers" in the margin. Furthermore, the Children of Israel openly rebelled against Moses, preferred to choose another leader and return to Egypt (Num. 14: 4), but for some reason abandoned this and completed the weary years about Kadesh Barnea, and from that spot made their final march around Edom to the plains of Moab and down past Nebo to the Jordan over against Jericho.

With the exception of Sinai, no spot is more memorable in the history of the Exodus than Kadesh Barnea. Here, at Kadesh, Miriam died (Num. 20: 1); here Korah and his company rebelled (Num. 16) and, in God's providence, perished by sudden death. It was from Kadesh that the spies were sent in advance to view the Promised Land and to report to Moses on the natural features and the inhabitants of Canaan (Num. 13). It was at Kadesh (Num. 20) that a miraculous supply of water was obtained when apparently the ordinary fountains had dried up. If the rebellion and destruction of Korah and his company was connected with an earthquake, then this event may have had something to do with the blocking up of the underground channels by the falling in of the lime-stone strata. Whatever may have been the cause, drought or earthquake, the restoration of the water flow was an extraordinary event, occurring at the moment of the interposition of Moses by the command of God. And in some way Moses acted at variance with the precise direction to "speak unto the rock" (Num. 20: 8) and struck it with the rod, which cost him his doom, never to enter the Promised Land, but only to see it from afar.

CHAPTER XXIV

AARON'S HILL, KIBROTH-HATTA AVAH AND THE DESERT

WE had set Tuesday, March 2d, as the day of our departure from the Monastery. On that morning I took another walk through the lower buildings of the rambling fortress-monastery in company with Brother Gabriel, who gave me some fine gnarled lumps of olive wood and a good piece of almond tree, which we sawed with no little trouble from a log in the winter wood-pile of the monks. At our final call on the Abbot we inserted our names in the visitors' book which has been kept since 1897 only.

Outside the Monastery in the courtyard was a strikingly motley scene. Sheikh Musa Bu Nasir and his son Ibrahim, Moses and Abraham, stood like statues, speaking now and then in low tones. Numberless cameleers were moving back and forth to the Monastery garden, from which they were carrying our camp bundles to the courtyard, where the loads were being made up and divided. As many as thirty were thus engaged, while fully as many more were knocking at the outer gate, seeking admission. They had gathered from all quarters of the peninsula, summoned by their own wireless telegraphy, each one claiming or hoping for a place in our caravan to Akaba. The seventeen or eighteen who had come with us from Suez had received their share from the expedition, and none but the head cameleer, Sheikh Hammadi, was to go on with us. The Prior of the Monastery was laying down the law to the Arabs and now and then signalling to the gateman to admit a few more of the hungry fellows. He also had many items of business to transact with the Arabs, who on too many



Aaron's Hill, where Golden Calf stood
Tomb of the Neby Salih

occasions shunned the Monastery because of little debts, promises unfulfilled, or duties left undone.

The semi-silence was oppressive and so unusual that we almost wished for the customary wrangle and noise. But in the presence of the Great Sheikh, whose single word or gesture was to determine for them the momentous matter of going with us or not, all wrangling and noise were bottled up until the caravan was fairly away from the Monastery. Hammadi, the head of the cameleers, was being charged with his duties about setting up and taking down the camp, bringing water and the round of customary services. Perhaps no one was repressing more inexpressible feelings than our dragoman, Milhem, whose pocket was deeply concerned. Between Suez and Sinai twenty-one camels had carried us and our outfit, and ordinarily we should have needed less on the next stage because certain heavy stores had been lightened by what we had consumed, but the Arabs were too much for him, and the loads were so broken up and rearranged that twenty-two camels were needed, and since every camel meant £2, Milhem was correspondingly depressed.

After we had attended to our personal baggage we thought we might as well say good-bye to our Monastery friends and the Great Sheikh, and not embarrass them in their final financial discussions with our dragoman. So we bade them a formal good-bye and moved out of the enclosure with our riding camels and turned reluctantly away from the interesting scene and surroundings. A ride of some twenty minutes brought us to the mound seen in Fig. 53, which is Aaron's Hill, the traditional site of the Golden Calf. It is guarded by a mean little building containing a tomb and the usual votive offerings of the region, bits of rags and camel trappings. From the top of this mound a most comprehensive view is obtained of the whole plain of er Rahah, and it is certain that any ceremony performed upon its summit could be plainly seen by all the people standing

in the plain before it. It is also fully as certain that any number from 100,000 to 500,000, or perhaps three times that number, could have assembled in the plain as spectators and all have been in full view of Aaron's Hill and the "Mountain of the Law."

It was more than two hours before Milhem and the caravan appeared behind us, coming slowly down from the Monastery. When Milhem arrived it was plain from his flushed face and crestfallen air that he had had a severe tiff with the Arabs in the final adjustment of the loads and the number of camels in our caravan. We had had already a hint of the difficulties in the shape of a messenger who came for some extra pieces of gold, but Milhem's description of the difficulties and the wrangling between the prior and the Arabs and himself was worth a great deal to hear. It was the old story of a hundred different bargains and sublettings, by means of which various Arabs, by an exchange of camels and exchange of cameleers, secured another trial balance in their everlasting adjustment of inter-tribal and inter-family accounts, which have been opened and tangled for a hundred years and will continue so until the whole lot of them are swept from the face of the earth.

Hence it was 12 o'clock when our caravan turned out of the little valley into the great Valley Wady esh Sheikh. Here we turned to the right, between the high cliffs of Jebel Fureia on the left and the Mountain of the Cross on the right. The valley at this point is not more than a quarter of a mile wide and bears generally toward the northeast. We followed Wady esh Sheikh for about two hours until opposite the tomb of Sheikh Salih, which is one of the most sacred spots for the Arabs in all the peninsula. It is a small ugly whitewashed stone hut (Fig. 54) and, like all the other sheikhs' tombs in Sinai, makes no pretence at structural beauty. The tomb consists of two small rooms or buildings, in one of which the coffin or tomb of the

saint is surrounded by a wooden partition hung with cloth, on which are suspended handkerchiefs, camels' halters and other offerings of the Bedawin. Palmer attempts to identify this Bedawin saint with Moses himself, and there are many considerations which bring this within the realm of possibilities. The meaning of Neby Salih is "the righteous prophet."

Palmer also gives an interesting account of the annual festival which takes place at the tomb and is considered the great national event of the year. The Towarah Arabs come from every quarter of the peninsula accompanied by their wives and families and spend several days in feasting and festival about the tomb.¹

Several travellers have spoken in their writings as though these Sinai Arabs, while mainly Moslems, made no exhibition of their religion in the observance of prayer or otherwise. Certainly we could not agree with this observation, because again and again during our intercourse with them, in fact, I might say daily, our head cameleer Hammadi led all who were willing through the regular Moslem prayers. More than twenty times during our trip I was awakened before the dawn by the voice of these men at their prayers. They did not, however, kneel at noon nor at sunset, and it may be that other travellers failing to note this exceeding early morning prayer, have made the mistaken remark referred to.

Beyond Sinai the Route of the Exodus for a journey of three or four days is fixed beyond a peradventure by the configuration of the valleys, the one or two well-fixed locations and the water-supply. The route leaving Sinai trends generally northward and leaves the valley exactly at the tomb of Neby Salih. Crossing the little spur to the left of the tomb (Fig. 54), we entered the side valley of Wady es Suweiriyeh, in which, after passing a small well which never fails and two small enclosed gardens, we

¹ "P. D. E.," p. 218.

climbed the narrow roadway, and in a little more than an hour reached the watershed.

All the valleys through which we had passed between Suez and Sinai drained into the Gulf of Suez. Beyond this divide the waters flowed eastward into the Gulf of Akaba, and from this watershed our pathway was almost a continual descent for the next three days.

Beyond this divide the aspect of the country changed instantly. We looked over into a wide plateau filled with thorn bushes and herbage where grazed hundreds of camels and thousands of sheep, lambs and she asses. There was a complete absence of the ravines and shattered rocky masses among which we had been travelling for so many days. The whole sky line took on a softer, smoother look, and the slopes and bases of the mountains lost the sharp, forbidding aspect of Sinai. We had passed suddenly from the granite into the limestone formation, and an hour and a half later, at our camping-place, our barometers registered a drop of 1400 feet below our camp in Sinai. Here, on one of the elevated stretches of this water-shed, has been discovered another interesting series of ancient inscriptions. The Arabs know the spot by the name of Er Weis el Ebeirig. On the summit of a small hill is an erection of rough stones surmounted by a conspicuous white block shaped like a pyramid, and extending for miles. The surrounding slopes are covered with small enclosures of stones.¹

Palmer and Drake carefully examined this whole district, and found abundant evidence of charcoal marking ancient fire-places, settling the fact of its being a deserted camp. And outside the camp numbers of stone heaps, which from their shape and position could be nothing else than graves. Arab tradition declares these curious remains to be "the relics of a large pilgrim or Hajj caravan, who, in remote ages, pitched their tents at this spot on their way to Ain

¹ "P. D. E.," p. 212.

Hudherah (Hazereth) and who were soon afterward lost in the Desert of the Tih and never heard of again." For many reasons Palmer and others believe this legend to be authentic, referring to the Israelites, and that in the scattered stones of this secluded spot we have found real traces of the Exodus. The reference to the caravan as having "lost their way," which is the same Arabic verb through which the name Tih or "Wilderness of the Wandering" is derived, is certainly a striking fact. Description of these wanderers as a "Hajj" caravan, apparently connecting them with the Moslem pilgrimage, is not a difficulty, because this very term "Hajj" has its exact counterpart in the Hebrew, where it means "a festival," and is "the identical word used in Exodus 10:9 to express the ceremony which the Children of Israel alleged as their reason for wishing to leave Egypt, viz.: 'to hold a *Feast* unto the Lord in the Wilderness.' " We know nothing of Muhammadan caravans in modern times that have passed this way, but the Children of Israel who journeyed to Hazereth did so, and here comes in a double confirmation, making it certain that this and no other was the Route of the Children of Israel on leaving Sinai.

We have already referred to the coming of the quails across the Akaba arm of the Red Sea, which must have been about the month of May, when the quails migrate northward. The Children of Israel remained, as we know, about Sinai for a period of eleven months, and here, just a year later, they have a second experience with another migration of the same migratory birds. It is to just such a grassy and herbage-covered plateau that these great flocks of quails would naturally make their way, so that there is no good reason for the contention of the critics that the two accounts (Exodus 16:13; Numbers 11:31-35) refer to one and the same event, because there is exactly a year between them, and, as has been shown, the location of the first event was the natural landing-place for the quails after

their flight over the arm of the Red Sea; so here also is another natural resting-place just beyond the bare granite mountains where the quails would naturally congregate on their migratory journey northward. Hence it is much more than probable that here occurred the event referred to in Numbers 11: 31, where "there went forth a wind from the Lord and brought quails from the sea, and let them fall by the camp, about a day's journey on this side, and a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp and about two cubits above (meaning flying two cubits above) the face of the earth. And the people rose up all that day and all the night, and all the next day, and gathered the quails; he that gathered least gathered ten homers, and they spread them all abroad for themselves round about the camp. While the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed, the anger of the Lord was kindled against the people and the Lord smote the people with a very great plague. And the name of that place was called Kibroth-hattaavah; because there they buried the people that lusted." This, then, is almost certainly Kibroth-hattaavah or the "graves of lust," because here "they buried the people that lusted."

After what has been written concerning the desolation and changeless aspect of the desert between Suez and Sinai, as well as the facts recorded at Maghareh and Serabî, of ancient ruins untouched by human hands since the 12th century B. C., it is neither strange nor impossible that the remains of this particular camp should remain undisturbed until this present day. Had these events occurred in any of the winding valleys of Sinai, they must, of necessity, have disappeared under the drifting sands, or have been swept away for ever by the mountain torrents which devastate these valleys at more or less remote periods of time. As a matter of fact, these interesting remains are found along the reaches of the watershed just outside the granite district of Sinai, where naught but the winds and the sun-

shine have disturbed them through all the centuries which have passed.

For an hour beyond this interesting spot on the watershed we continued our way among the hill tops. The backward views of the jagged granite sky line and of Sinai were grand, especially as more and more of the rolling plateau fell behind us and made a softer foreground for the weird mountain masses beyond. Leaving the watershed, we struck other long sloping plains, and after an hour and a quarter along this gentle descent we reached our camp at the head of Wady es Saal.

On our way down we had noted the tracks of many gazelles and toward sunset heard the familiar call of the male partridge. Shouldering both shot-gun and rifle, I took a long stroll through the hills on the left of our camp, but was not fortunate enough to get sight of either gazelle or bird. The next day, however, as we wound our way through the narrow valley, I did succeed in bagging several of these splendid, gamey birds.

Our chief occupation in that morning ride was looking for game, watching the gradual fall of our barometers and marking the greatly changed appearance of the landscape by limestone and sandstone slopes instead of granite cliffs. About noon we faced a long hill or mountain which apparently completely blocked the widening valley as we moved toward the northeast. It was capped by a remarkable flat table-like covering of red stone, either sandstone or granite, from 30 to 50 feet thick. We should like to have climbed and more carefully examined the mass. At luncheon time we found a little nook on the side of the main valley and took luncheon under the shadow of a most remarkable bit of sandstone rock. Elsewhere (p. 63) I have dwelt upon the wonderful carving power of the desert winds, when converted by means of the shifting sand into a natural sandblast, even upon the hardest granite. But in Wady es Saal we noted the same marvelous action in the

softer sandstone. In the little nook where we stopped for luncheon there was an isolated mass of whitish sandstone not less than 15 feet high, shaped like a human neck and head, over which seemed to have been thrown a Brobdignagian wig of reddish hair. On closer inspection it turned out to be (see Fig. 55) the most remarkable specimen of wind carving that any of us had ever seen or heard of. The softer whitish sandstone underneath had been cut away until the upper tufts of the negligent sandstone wig stood out in extremely natural relief, as can easily be seen from the shadows in the photograph. The size of the detached mass can be understood better by comparing the middle squatting figure, which is that of Milhem gathering up the remains of our luncheon. Mr. Taylor, with his wide curtained hat, is seen on the left, while Dr. Goucher was engaged in photographing the same object.

Robinson¹ refers to the strict honesty of the Bedawin among themselves, however little regard they may have to the rights of property in others. He instances the fact that if an Arab's camel should die on the road and he cannot remove the load, he simply draws a circle in the sand round about and leaves it, if necessary, for months, and in passing through Wady es Saal on his way to Akaba he saw a black tent hung in a tree. His guides told him that it was there a year before and would never be stolen. At somewhere about the same spot we were surprised by seeing a good number of charcoal bags, axes and other implements of charcoal making, hung among the trees. We naturally looked about for the owners of this property, and, seeing no one, asked the meaning of it. Our cameleers gave us practically the same answer, and added that we had met the owners of these bags a day beyond Feiran where we had seen them carrying loads of charcoal to the Suez market, and that they never hesitated leaving their

¹ "Biblical Researches," Vol. I, p. 142.



A Wig of Stone carved by the Winds
"The Hill of the Hajj" Pilgrims

surplus bags and tools by the wayside until they returned from their journey to Suez.

We left the Wady es Saal (2985 feet) at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, where we swung eastward; bearing to the northeast we slowly climbed a rocky slope of another watershed where our barometers registered 3084 feet, and in about twenty-five minutes we began to drop from the watershed into Wady Genah, by a narrow path winding among the hillocks on either side of it. These hillocks are masses of *grünstein* capped with sandstone.

Out of Wady Genah we passed into Wady Muarra or Murrah, a sandy region full of low ridges and dotted with hills and weird crags of various colored sandstone. Other travellers have often missed their way at this spot. The district would be a fearful one in which to meet a sandstorm such as we encountered at the Wells of Moses. Our course led over another sandy watershed and into Wady Shukaa, an open sandy plain extending to the foot of the Tih plateau perhaps an hour away, which here kept its well-known character of a cliff or wall. Swinging toward the left we gradually approached a most prominent and strange looking isolated mass of colored sandstone a mile or two away from the base of the great limestone cliff of the plateau, where our tents had already been pitched for the night (Fig. 56). The nearer we came, the more beautiful appeared this detached mountain of sandstone with our white tents gleaming at its base. Although the films for my swing camera were rapidly growing less, I took a view in the afternoon light (Fig. 57) which gives a suggestion of the mass and the surrounding plain, with the wall of the Tih plateau visible in the distance behind and to the right.

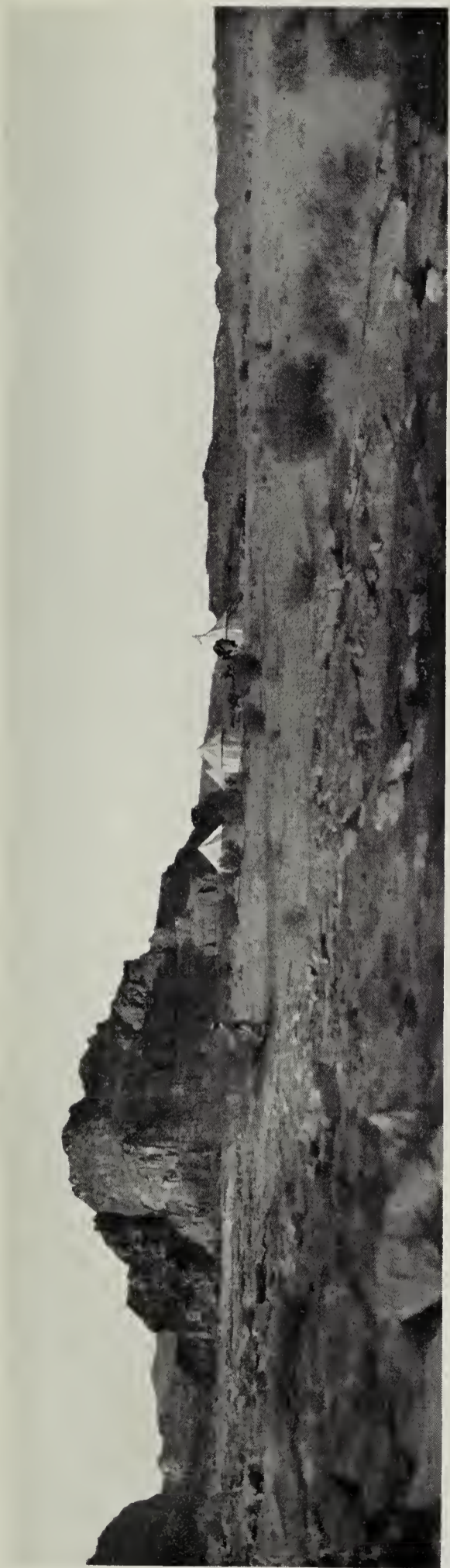
This many colored mass is called Hudheibat Hajjaj, "the hill of the Hajj pilgrims," again reminding us of the tradition which clings to Kibroth-hattaavah. It was one of the most weird and memorable camping-places in all our

journey. Waterless, silent, desolate, and yet possessing the fascinations of the desert to an overmastering degree. Again and again during the night I stepped out of my tent to enjoy the beauties of the scene.

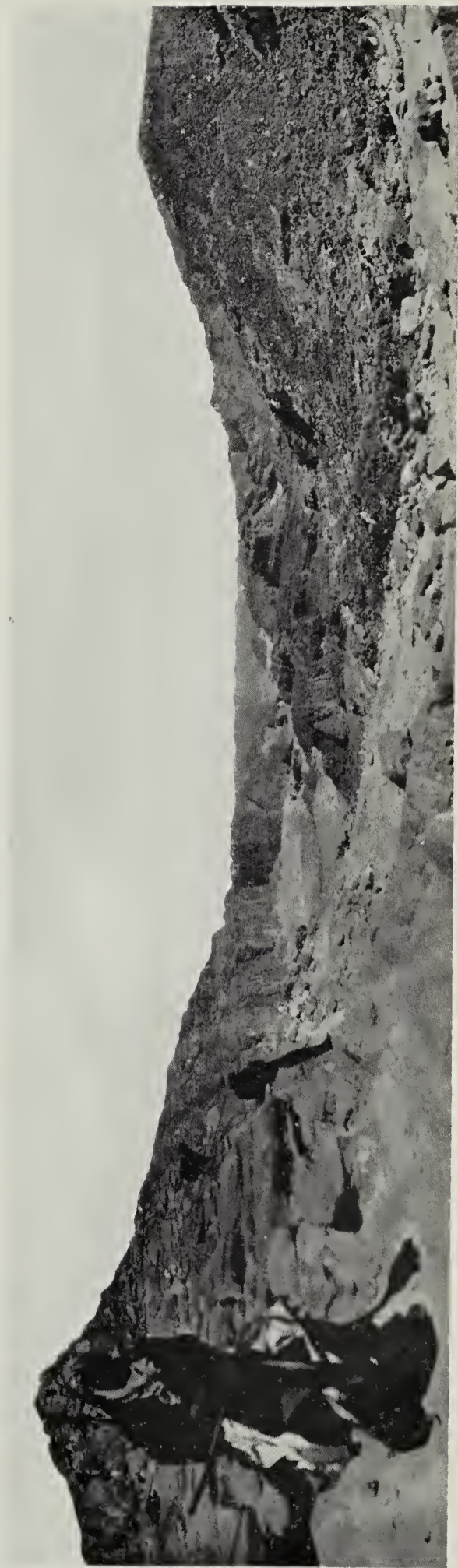
The vari-colored sandstone and our barometers had silently (from 5200 feet at Sinai to 2600 at this desert camp) told us plainly that we had reached one of the geological bays in which nature had deposited the same sandstone strata on the *west* side of the continuation of the Arabah as those found on the east side which contain the glories of Petra.¹ These variegated strata in this isolated mass were undoubtedly of the same age and origin. It seemed like getting nearer home to find the same beautiful effects that make Petra an ineffaceable memory of beauty—"a rose red city half as old as Time."

During the afternoon and after sunrise the next day we could not but mark and enjoy what in other lands and times had seemed only a bit of poetic fancy, but was now a delicious and never-to-be-forgotten experience, "the shadow of this great rock in a weary land."

¹ "J. V. and P.," Vol. II, pp. 114-143.



Hudheibat Hajjaj, the Hill of the Hajj Pilgrims. 2½ hours from Hazeroth



The Oasis of Hazeroth—Our first glimpse

CHAPTER XXV

THE OASIS OF HAZEROTH

WE left our camp by the "great rock" at 7 A. M. and for about an hour kept in an open valley sloping southward. Then we climbed a slope which bore nearly eastward and in half an hour entered Wady Guline, a narrow shallow valley descending to the northeast. After passing beyond a flat table-like hill (8.45 A. M.) we crossed a stony divide and into what are called Mutalia Hadrah, "the goings up to Hudherah," a number of sand-covered slopes which narrow into a sort of pass. At 10.15 A. M., a little over three hours from our desert camp, we had another tiresome stretch over the sandy plains, and winding among weird sandstone cliffs and crags we entered the break in the limestone hills and suddenly looked down into one of the most beautiful and romantic nooks of the peninsula. It was Ain Hudherah, the Hazeroth of the Exodus (Num. 11: 35, 12: 16), where Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because he had married a Cushite woman. Here Miriam was stricken "leprous as white as snow" and "shut up without the camp seven days, and the people journeyed not till Miriam was brought in again."

Now the exceeding great importance of this location is the fact that it fixes the Route of the Children of Israel when they left Sinai. It is the third station in the Itinerary (Num. 33), and either four or five days from that mountain. The identity of the Arabic and Hebrew names is beyond question, and the distance of about eighteen hours from Sinai fits the documents as the key fits the lock. And, as we shall find, the meaning of the word

Hazeroth ("walled enclosures") matches the natural features with a nicety that surprises and delights.

Many travellers, like Robinson, were led by their guides and cameleers over the rough slopes and ravines to the east without ever suspecting that at least at one point they were within fifteen minutes of the cleft through which one could view this charming specimen of an oasis and about which hang memories of this rebellious and then repentant Miriam, the sister of Moses. Those who cross the desert below and east of the oasis have noted the many "paths," called "Mawared el Hudhera," leading to the famous spot, and many have drunk from its limpid waters without seeing it, who would have given half their journey to have entered the charming nook. As far as is known, Palmer and Holland (1870) seem to be the first Europeans who ever visited it. This fact strikingly illustrates the way in which misunderstanding and suspicion can grow up concerning the existence and location of such a fountain as Ain Kadis—Kadesh Barnea. Some traveller on good terms with his guides is shown a nook or a fountain that is absolutely denied to other travellers years afterward. We had this same experience with guides in Petra, who frequently assured us that there were no more sculptures or excavations in a certain direction, where we afterward saw some of the most interesting things in the Rock City.

So I am sure that never in all our long journey did we so quickly dismount from our camels and unpack our cameras as we did that day (March 4, 1909) when we peeped through that interesting cleft in the white limestone and looked from the edge of the cliff down into the oasis of Ain Hudherah. Panorama 58 was taken with the swing camera from a point a little lower down than where we obtained our first glimpse, and still fully half a mile away from the little oasis and at least 300 feet above it. The little patch of palm trees in exactly the center of the photo marks the location of the flowing fountain. One of our camels can

be seen coming round from the left toward Dr. Goucher, leaning against the rock. While below, half-way to the oasis, stands a second camel, just where the winding road emerges from the sandstone ravines and gullies down which we wound for fully half an hour before we emerged upon the white and yellow sands.

Panorama 59 gives a nearer view and reveals the "walled enclosure" feature of the oasis, which has led one recent traveller to call the gigantic cavity a "bowl of rocks." As a matter of fact the cavity is a rough parallelogram, with the cliff rising 300 feet on three of the sides. The side from which we are looking is about 300 feet long, the longer side some 2000, and the farther end not less than 800 feet. The walls, like the cavity at Petra, are of sandstone, and much of the great charm of the place is due to the brilliant coloring. These rocks, heavily stained with iron, have the effect in the brilliant sunshine of marbles on a gigantic scale. The sands beneath, the result of the mouldering rock, lose their coloring and are a brilliant yellowish white in the clear noonday light.

Figure 61 gives a bit of the winding road on the way down, and Figure 62 the charming natural gateway through which we entered the beautiful oasis. Panorama 60, taken from a point over against the rocky wall, shows the double group of palm trees, perhaps 200 in all, which get their life from the fountain which eternally fights its way through the drifting white sands. Among the palm trees were the red blossoms of the pomegranate and other smaller trees and shrubs, forming a bewitching mass of beautiful green in its frame of desolation. Our barometers at the fountain registered 690 meters or about 2265 feet.

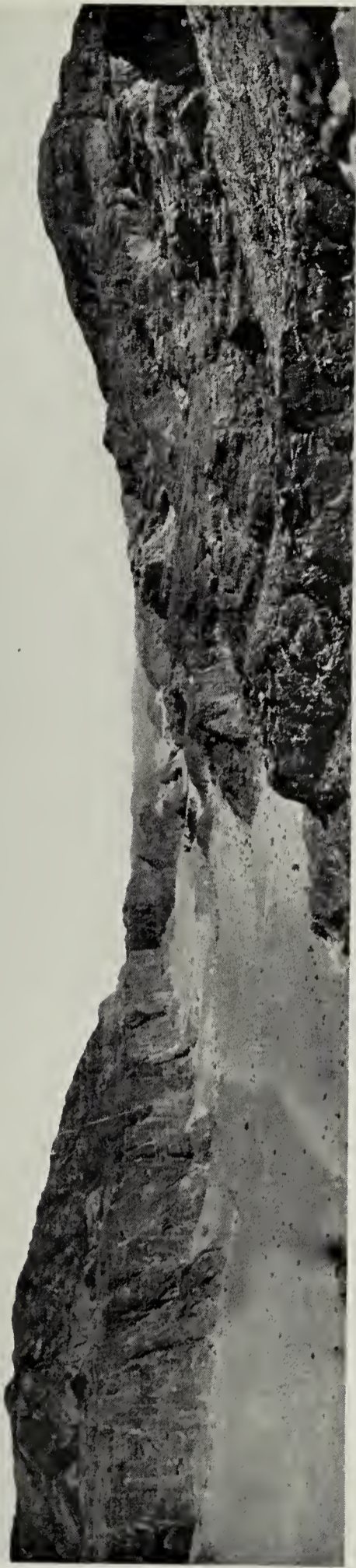
Palmer,¹ who saw it toward sunset, was deeply impressed with the beauty of the scene, and described how "through a steep and rugged gorge, with almost perpendicular sides, we looked down upon a wady-bed that winds

¹ "P. D. E.," p. 214.

along between fantastic sandstone rocks, now rising in the semblance of mighty walls or terraced palaces, now jutting out in pointed ridges—rocky promontories in a sandy sea. Beyond this lies a perfect forest of mountain peaks and chains, and on their left a broad white wady leads up toward the distant mountains of the Tih. But the great charm of the landscape lies in its rich and varied coloring; the sandstone, save where some great block has fallen away and displayed the dazzling whiteness of the stone beneath, is weathered to a dull red or violet hue, through which run streaks of the brightest yellow and scarlet, mixed with rich dark purple tints. Here and there a hill or dike of green stone, or a rock of rosy granite, contrasts or blends harmoniously with the rest; and in the midst, beneath a lofty cliff, nestles the dark green palm grove of Hazeroth. This picture, framed in the jagged cleft and lit up by the evening sun, with the varied tints and shades upon its mountain background, and the awful stillness that might be seen as Egypt's darkness could be felt, was such a landscape as none but the Great Artist's hand could have designed."

The main stream of the fountain comes from a small tunnel, at the inner end of which is a cleft in the apparently solid rock. Outside the tunnel is also a deep open cutting for some 30 feet, and then begin the gardens where a deaf and dumb Bedawy watched the few spots sown with wheat, turning the stream from place to place until it was lost in the drifts of thirsty white sand. Because of the two groups of palms it would almost seem that there was a double fountain or some sort of a tunnel which carried the precious water across the strip of sand which lies between the two groups. The weary traveller coming upon this delightful nook from any point of the compass will never forget the sight of the wonderful little oasis.

Palmer noted the remains of several well-constructed walls which he suggests point to a former and perhaps



Hazeroth—White Sands and Colored Walls



The Oasis of Hazeroth—Note double clumps of trees. Water issues just behind largest trees in center

Christian occupation of the place. "The present owners, two members of the Emzeineh tribe, took us to see a large crack in the flat surface of the rock behind the spring, and called the Bab er Rum or 'Christian's Gate.' They say that the ancient inhabitants opened a door in the mountain and constructed a passage through it to their own country, Rum (or Asia Minor), and, having built a city within the subterranean depths and conveyed thither an incalculable treasure, they closed it up after them by the same magical arts which had enabled them to effect an entry."

At least four well-known roads converge here in the oasis; the one we had followed from Sinai and the one we took northward to Akaba, then through a nagb or pass up into the Tih plateau runs a trail which soon separates into two roads, one of which makes straight for Suez and the other for Gaza and the borders of Palestine. This latter road is called "derb Ghazzy," or the *Shammiyeh*, that is, leading to the left when our face is toward the sunrising. Naoum Beg Shucair assured us that these two distances to Suez and Gaza were practically equal, and we received the same answer from our guides and cameleers. The Arab can often give you a relative estimate when asked at any point on a road concerning the distance to a known location in one direction and a known location in another, but he cannot give any accurate estimate in hours, much less in miles, as we measure.

The importance of this matter of the roads lies in the possibility of the Children of Israel having turned into the "desert of the Wanderings" at this point, and thus of reaching Kadesh Barnea by a route other than that we were now following to Ezion Geber.

Another reader may have asked, "How could even your reduced numbers of the Children of Israel ever be accommodated at such an oasis?" The answer, again, is a simple one and comes easily to one who has any real knowledge of nomad life. At Sinai I pointed out the fact that

while the Tabernacle may have stood in the Plain of er-Rahah before the "traditional Mountain of the Law," the main encampment must have been at the oasis of Feiran, with perhaps smaller encampments all the way to Sinai. So here at Hazeroth, while only a small portion of the host could have encamped within "the enclosure," there are a hundred wide spaces within a few hours' journey of the fountain where all the Children of Israel could have abundant room. Nomads are not as dependent upon water for drinking purposes, much less for washing, as we dwellers in other lands. The most important, nay the only important, matter is to get water for their flocks. A Bedawin has been known to live days on milk alone, but his flocks must have water. Now, with such a water-supply as at Hazeroth almost any number of flocks could be cared for. For all day at such watering-places there is often an almost unbroken succession of shepherds, who lead flock after flock to the troughs, and without delay move onward and make way for others. And I can well imagine that the Children of Israel, journeying as they must have done, would have been *days arriving* at Hazeroth and *days in leaving* such a spot with their flocks. And I am fully prepared to agree that the locations mentioned in the Itinerary of Numbers 33 are in every instance the resting-places of the Ark and the Tabernacle, which, after Sinai, was the visible center of the moving host, no matter how far ahead some detachments may have gotten or how far behind others. This supposition and explanation is, to my mind, the only one and the complete one to explain the large number of stations (20 stages) between Sinai and Ezion Geber. Taberah (Numbers 11:3) and Kibroth-hattaavah are two stops between Sinai and Hazeroth, a distance of eighteen hours by camel, much of which was through a comparatively open country. But as the great host entered the narrower valleys they could not possibly move a total distance or more than three or four hours daily,



Steep Descent into the Oasis
Natural Gateway to Hazeroth

and hence fully twenty stops or stages would be made before they reached Ezion Geber, which, according to our modern camel trail, is eight days' going from Sinai. This seems to me a much more reasonable explanation than to force the Route up into the desert plateau, where the Children of Israel *must* "wander" in order to get the stages in. And the reason why we have as yet picked up only four or five of the ancient names on this section of the Route is the simple fact that the locations were most of them named from local or transitory events within the host, in just the same way as we travellers name our own desert camps when we settle down in the desert away from any well-known natural objects.

CHAPTER XXVI

FROM HAZEROTH TO EZION GEBER

THE most natural and easy gateway into or out of the Oasis of Hazeroth or Hudherah is the valley of the same name, which, beginning at the oasis, slopes almost due north for some two hours (5 miles) and empties into Wady Ghazaleh. During these two hours our barometers made a drop from 690 meters (2265 feet) to 535 meters (1755 feet) at the junction of the two valleys. Then we followed Wady Ghazaleh for three hours and a quarter as it wound between its almost perpendicular walls of sandstone until it ended in Wady el Ain, where we pitched our camp above the fountains and at an elevation of only 250 meters (800 feet) above the level of the sea.

This day proved to be another of those strikingly impressive sections of our journey. The country through which we passed is a frightful desert. In some nooks of the two valleys there were herbs and shrubs, but by far the greater part was endless stretches of sand between rugged sandstone hills, completely destitute of any trace of vegetation. There was not the slightest difficulty in finding the road, because it is one of nature's own roadways. The valley of Huderah, with its wide, gently sloping stretches opening into that of Ghazaleh, whose perpendicular walls of sandstone now and then approach each other so close that in some places it might be closed by a gate. To ride for half an hour through such sublime scenery is impressive, but to keep it up for some six or seven hours, as we did that day, is to carry for ever some indelible impressions of indescribable grandeur. On the whole, the

mountains and valleys descending to the east from the great Sinai mass are much more sublimely grand and impressive than those which we ascended from the west or Suez side.

Wady Ghazaleh opened finally into Wady el Ain, or Wetir, which is the great drain or trunk valley into which a perfect tangle of valleys empty themselves from the mountainous region lying between two parallel ridges of the southern range of the Tih. The upper parts of the great valley system are said to resemble Feiran in its brook and luxuriant vegetation. A road leads through this valley across the southern border of the Tih to the monastery of Sinai. Another branch of the same joins the Suez-Akaba pilgrim route for a distance and then across the desert by the same trail, as already referred to as turning up from Hazeroth. Still another road, up the Wady el Ain, swings northeast to a point called *Mafrak*, or "the cross roads," where the Hajj route and two other desert trails come together on the boundary line between Turkey and Egypt. This Wady el Ain district, with its network of valleys, will yet yield some interesting facts concerning the Exodus, because it is a great natural highway leading down from the Desert of the Wandering to the seacoast in the direction and vicinity of Ezion Geber.

The amphitheater formed by the junction of Wady Ghazaleh and Wady el Ain and another valley, called Nahhailah, was a much more magnificent and impressive spot than we had any expectation of seeing. Books of travel seem more than usually confused about this vicinity, and the names on all maps still need extensive revision. Wady el Ain and Wady Wetir seem to be the same, and Robinson's Wady es Saideh seems to be still a third name. We camped on a raised gravel bed; eastward and across from our left were a large number of palm and seyyal trees. Two or three families of poor Arabs were living among the trees, and the sole item of information I could

extract from them was that the fountain at this point was called Furtaga, a name which I have not seen recorded anywhere. Some ten minutes below our camp were three or four holes in a bed of gravel where there was really an abundance of what might be excellent water were it not for the Arabs, who run their camels into it and deposit all manner of filth about it. We filled our two barrels early in the morning and took in a minimum of uncleanness. This supply was to last us through three dry camps until we reached Akaba.

We left the fountain at 8 A. M. and made our way down the winding valley, fully as grand and sublime as the Wady Ghazaleh above. At one point the whole valley was contracted between enormous masses of rock to the width of only 10 or 12 feet. At several points the valley doubled on itself and explained for us the meaning of some apparently well-trodden paths which led up steep slopes to apparently nowhere. They were simply short cuts by which those on foot could save a mile or two in their progress toward the sea.

At one point our attention was caught and fixed (for any sign of human or vegetable life on these dreary slopes seemed miraculous) by the sight of a man running up a short cut, disappearing and then reappearing beyond in an apparently desperate attempt to get ahead of us. Our first thought was, of course, "robbers," and we kept a sharp lookout during the next few hours. The explanation will be found a page or two farther on.

At a hundred points in this winding valley we expected to get a glimpse of the sea, for our barometers were rapidly sinking and the scent of the salt water came now and then in whiffs to our doubly sensitive nostrils. It was almost three hours before we saw through the wider opening the gleam of the water, and exactly four hours to the seashore. We had climbed from Suez to Sinai (5100 feet) and the top of Jebel Musa (7363 feet), and in three and a half days

we had come down the 5100 feet without an accident to our slow plodding camels. (See plate facing p. 24.) Our barometers, eased of their tension, settled quickly to the cipher and took a good rest along the seashore before we began to climb into Edom beyond Akaba.

We were beyond the range of guide-books and nothing had prepared our eyes or minds for the sight that next greeted us along the beautiful shore of the gulf. Not more than two miles to our left and northward we saw another oasis of palm trees sitting almost in the sea, and just behind it a large square fortress-like building over which floated what we knew later to be the Egyptian flag. We had heard and seen the name Nuweibeh, but it was only a name and nothing more. As we approached our curiosity increased, until we finally dismounted among the palm trees before the door of the fort and were welcomed by the garrison and some Arabs from the neighborhood. We soon learned the story.

When England entered Egypt after the bombardment of Alexandria on July 11, 1882, she found that one of her duties was to see the Egyptian caravan to Mecca safely across the peninsula from Suez to Akaba. In the then unsettled state of the Arab tribes, she sent Egyptian soldiers to Pharaoh's island, Akaba, and beyond in fulfillment of her duty. When the new khedive, Abbas Pasha, succeeded his father Tewfik in 1892 as ruler of Egypt, his boundary was named as extending from Wady Arish, "the river of Egypt," across the peninsula to Akaba, thus bringing all Sinai under Anglo-Egyptian control. The Sultan of Turkey at once made imperial protest and claimed as Turkish territory all the country up to the banks of the Suez Canal. The British Government, without discussing the matter in public, ignored the protest, and in 1893 (1310 A. H.) erected this fort, which is about 200 feet square, with ramparts and loopholes, and has kept the Egyptian flag flying there ever since. Prior to the most

recent boundary dispute of 1905, as many as 300 soldiers were permanently quartered here. Since, however, the dispute was forcibly settled by Great Britain by the erection of new boundary pillars, the fort has been practically abandoned, and at the time of our visit the garrison consisted of exactly three men, one cannon and the daily hoisting of the flag. But behind the men, the rusty cannon and the flag float the fleets of the greatest power in the world and no man dares molest them.

When we entered the peninsula at Suez, and were given one permit to travel in Sinai for scientific research and another for our firearms, we noted the fact that both were signed by J. Falconer Bey, the War Department representative. As we journeyed from point to point, meeting the camel patrols, we realized clearly that all Sinai was under military and not civil control. Nuweibeh was another clear indication of the situation. At this present moment (1911), with an ex-Shah and revolution loose in Persia, with battalion after battalion of Turkish troops being annihilated in Arabia, it would seem good policy to rebuild some of the ancient forts and fortresses. The Turkish Government will never subdue the Arabs by brute force. The ancient Egyptians sent many an unsuccessful expedition against these "sand-dwellers,"¹ and finally solved their problem by building a great wall and line of fortresses from Pelusium to Suez.² The Romans had the same difficulties with the nomad Arabs, and they solved the problem by building a great wall along the tops of the mountains of Moab from near Madeba to Akaba. It will some day become the duty of Great Britain to restore order among the Arab tribes of Arabia by the firmness and justice that has restored peace and prosperity in the Soudan, and the Peninsula of Sinai may once again loom large in the world's great drama. But this is politics.

¹ "E. and W. A.," p. 135.

² "T. K. B.," p. 44.

Inside the fort is a well of excellent though slightly brackish water, and the soldiers were very kind in helping us refill all our smaller water vessels. Then followed a bit of Oriental desert intercourse in which we joined with pleasure. One of the soldiers was from Akaba, and as they receive their pay and mail from Nakhel only once every two months, they are always on the lookout for some one to do errands. So we promised that our Sinai cameleers, who would be returning this same way a week or so later, should see his family and bring back for him two rotls (10 pounds) of flour and 1 rotl of tobacco. We suppose he bakes his flour over a tobacco fire. On the principle that one good turn deserves another, the soldiers then made another request. By some means they had come into possession of a rather dilapidated and lame specimen of a camel. This animal they wished to send to Akaba—a three days' journey as we were travelling. The proposition was to allow the animal to accompany our caravan, picking up its scanty living as best it could. We agreed and the lame beast was taken under our convoy. The soldiers drove it with us for a mile or so, and parted with great shouts and throwing of stones to keep the poor camel's head in the right direction. It did not take us long to realize that the invalid would prove a drag and a great nuisance. So we held a consultation. The Arabs argued rightly that if the camel wandered or died by the way they might lose a good camel to the soldiers on their return. So we decided to despatch one of them back at once with the lame animal and thus avoid all further trouble.

About an hour beyond the fort the story of the man running over the mountain short-cuts in early morning had its explanatory sequel. He saw the travellers, knew that most people like fish, and was running to join his fellow fishermen at Nuweibeh. Having taken their nets and baskets they went northward along the sea, and by the time we overtook them they had caught enough to give us two

good meals. They followed us for fully another twenty miles and continued to supply us for another day. We were glad of the change and they were abundantly satisfied with the prices we paid.

During the next two days along the seashore we noted that the Gulf of Akaba was much narrower than the western arm of the Red Sea, although it resembled it in its long blue line of water extending up through a region almost totally desolate. The mountains, too, are much higher on this eastern side of Sinai, and much more picturesque than those which skirt the Gulf of Suez. The valleys, as a rule, are not so broad, which makes the scenery grander, even though much more gloomy. The most striking difference, however, is the fact that there is not the same extent of wide desert plains along the seashore, and during the three days' journey from the mouth of Wady el Ain I was more than ever impressed with the possibility of the Children of Israel in their journey from Hazeroth to Ezion Geber having ascended some one of the valleys, say, from Hazeroth itself or up Wady el Ain, to the southeastern corner of the desert et Tih and across that desert to Ezion Geber, instead of skirting the coast on the seashore.

Palmer in his wanderings picked up several names which correspond with names found in the Itinerary between Hazeroth and Ezion Geber (Numbers 33: 16-35); Rissah, Haradah, Tahath and Hasmonah have their modern Arabic equivalents, and this, together with the fact of existing springs and wells along this inner route, makes it much more probable than the waterless and more difficult path over the promontories and moraines along the coast. Two modern travellers, Ruppell and Labord, took this inner route from Wady el Ain to Ezion Geber, and their careful description of it assures us of its feasibility.

Our route lay along the edge of the sea. The first day carried us beyond Nuweibeh, to within three miles of a famous white cape or promontory. This cape, formed by

a range of the Tîh mountains, called Jebel Aswal, forces itself out to the water's edge. The headland is named Ras el Burka or "veil" cape, so called from its exceeding white appearance when seen from a distance. The gulf at this point is a little over ten miles wide, and beyond the cape our route lay across a number of mud and stone glaciers which reach into the sea, whose waves are continually eating off great masses of débris, somewhat as icebergs drop from the ends of melting glaciers. At several places there are great geological bays filled with many colored Petra sandstones. At other points the granite ranges almost reach the edge of the water, and suggest a query as to whether all these colored sandstones on both sides of the Gulf of Akaba were not the result of nature's geological grinding of the many colored granite cliffs of Sinai and the action of the sea which washed this powdered granite back into the empty cavities of the Jordan Valley.

By far the most striking feature of this stretch of seashore is the abundance of shells of all shapes and colors and varieties, some as small as a pea and millions almost as large as a man's head. Here and there were stretches of beach formed of shells alone in every stage of the crushing process, which the waves continue for ever. This fact of the abundance of shells cast up by the waters of the Red Sea fitted strangely into a brilliant remark of Professor George Adam Smith's, and explained with a flash the reason of one of the most important modern industries of southern Palestine. His remark was to the effect that Israel as a kingdom had little to do with the shores of the Mediterranean Sea because the face of the kingdom was toward the desert, and this remark, coupled with the abundance of shells, explained what must have puzzled many another observer, as to how the modern industry of shell carving and its kindred products from the mother-of-pearl ever came into existence and made its home in the little town of Bethlehem. The seacoasts best known

and for many reasons most accessible to the Children of Israel were the shell-strewn shores of the Gulf of Akaba, where Solomon had his navies and where existed the single seaport, Ezion Geber, of the Hebrew nation.

For the sake of those who may follow our footsteps along this seashore I add this note concerning the time consumed as camels move. We left our camp below the white cape at 7 A. M. At 9.30 we were immediately opposite the highest of the two peaks of Jebel Aswal, at 10 o'clock we were in the middle of the white cape. Our guides and cameleers seemed to be confused somewhat in regard to the names of the various valleys which poured their moraines of gravel and rocks into the sea. The name Wady el Muhash belongs to some valley about this headland. At 11 o'clock we were in the plain of Buswerah, which contains a well of salty water with five or six palm trees, one of which is a five-branched tree of the dome variety. At 12.30 we passed the mouth of Wady Abu Magr with its great moraine and at 2.40 P. M. our cameleers again assured us that the valley on the left was Wady el Muhash. At 4 P. M. we passed another smaller valley called el Mujebbaly and turned into a charming little cove where we spent the Sunday. We named this our Coral Cove camp. It was absolutely waterless, as was also the preceding camp below the white cape. While we rested over Sunday our cameleers drove all the camels back to the salt well in the plain of Buswerah, allowing them to graze on the scanty herbage as they went and returned.

This Sunday camp of Coral Cove was as quiet and as restful as any human being could desire. With the exception of the abundant schools of fish, which we watched from the rocks of the promontory, there was no other sign of life to be seen in any direction. We cheered the spirits of our cameleers by an extra distribution of coffee and tobacco. By hunting through our outfit we also discovered a good supply of red clay pipe bowls and little hand mirrors

about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. We gave one of each, a pipe and a mirror, to every Bedawy in our camp, and to see these men looking, some of them for the first time in their lives, at their own shaggy beards and furrowed faces was a sight never to be forgotten. Some of them were so surprised at what they saw in the little mirrors that their impulse was, after concealing the glass in their floating garments, to rush some twenty or thirty yards away from the camp before taking a second look, as though by so doing they could conceal from all human eyes what they themselves had never seen before. The result was, that in spite of the dryness of the camp and the scantiness of their food, they were about as happy a lot of cameleers as ever pitched along the seashore.

Beyond our Coral Cove camp rose a series of rocky promontories all of granite, where even the seashore path is compelled to climb into back valleys before one can get beyond this great obstruction along the seashore. This is the *Jebel Sherafeh* mentioned by *Burckhardt*.

Again we left camp at 7 A. M., and not till two hours later did we again reach the open shore. At 10 o'clock we were opposite *Pharaoh's Island*, which figured largely in the recent boundary dispute between Turkey and Egypt. After having destroyed the boundary pillars on the Mediterranean coast at *Wady el Arish*, Turkish troops were sent westward from *Akaba* to a point on this seashore opposite *Pharaoh's Island*, where they dug rifle-pits preparatory to holding the position against any who should dispute their rights of possession.

This rocky island (Fig. 63) stands in the sea one-third of a mile from the shore. It is a narrow granite rock some 300 yards in length, consisting of two humps or hillocks connected by a low isthmus. The battlemented ruins running round the whole are the remains of an Arabian fortress and, without doubt, the former citadel of *Ailah*, which is mentioned by the Arabian writer *Abulfeda* as

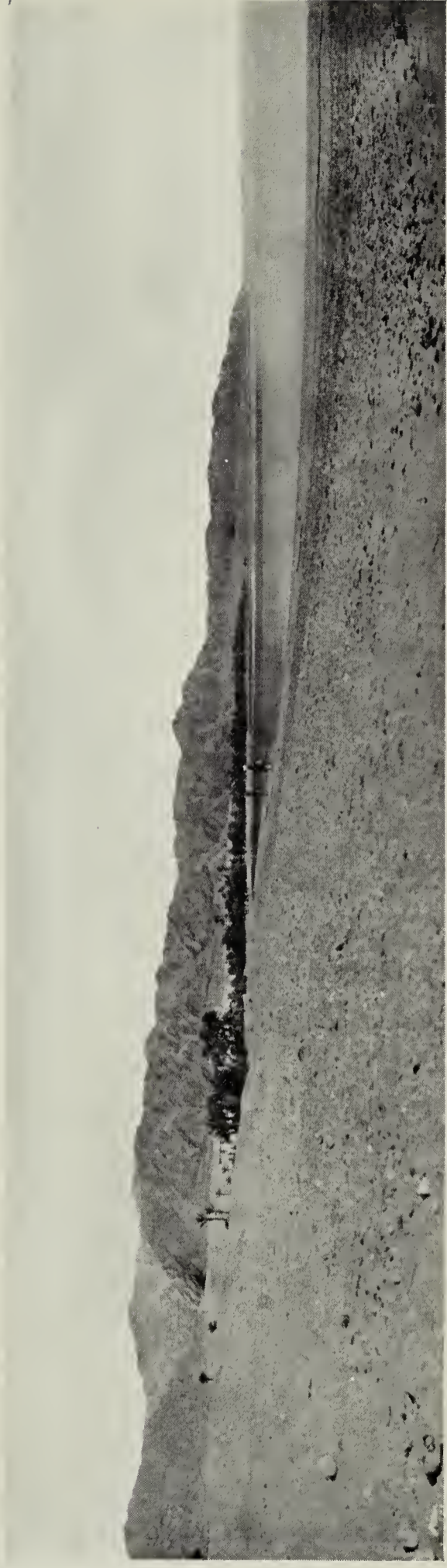
lying in the sea. It was besieged by Rainald of Chatillon in A. D. 1182 and was not reoccupied until after 1882, when the Egyptian Government kept some soldiers here in connection with the guarding of the Mecca caravan.

The waters about this island constituted one of the ancient pearl fisheries of the Gulf, and the rude boats sometimes seen at this point are engaged in gathering shells and the skins of the dugong, which porpoise or dolphin is abundant at the upper end of this sea. They do a little diving for pearls and easily descend to a depth of ten feet. They make use of a rude sea telescope while searching the bottom in the vicinity of the coral reefs. Not many years ago the fishermen of this vicinity were all known to be pirates when occasion offered, but since the Anglo-Egyptian Government has extended its sway over Sinai these former pirates find it safer to indulge in the trade of contraband arms.

An hour beyond the island we reached the well-known well of Wady Taba. It is shaped like a funnel about ten feet deep, and up and down its rude stone walls our camleers climbed with their rude water-skins in the attempt to water our camels, but, like many another desert well, that day's supply of water had already been used up by the visit of some other flocks of camels, and naught remained but a thin solution of mud in the bottom of the well. This Wady Taba has for many years been regarded as the eastern boundary between Turkey and Egypt, which, cutting across the peninsula toward the northwest, together with the Wady el Arish, formed a tolerably definite dividing line, but, after the boundary dispute already referred to, Great Britain insisted upon a Turco-Egyptian Commission, which worked across the same stretch of country in a more scientific way and located a series of nearly 100 steel and stone pillars on the water-shed just about the wadies Arish and Taba. And there, about two miles beyond the wady, high on a rock 100 feet above the



Pharaoh's Island—Ancient Elath. Note Mountainous Shore



The Oasis, Town and Gulf of Akaba

sea and close to the waters of the gulf, we saw the first of those boundary pillars, still fresh from the hands of the workmen. Its lofty location makes it distinctly visible from every direction on land and sea, and it was to us a very speaking testimony to the existence of the Power, all unseen, which watches over the granite peaks and arid deserts of the Peninsula of Sinai. Somewhere within a few miles of this desolate spot stood at least two ancient cities, those of Elath and Ezion Geber. The weight of supposition and tradition locates Elath somewhere about Wady Taba, and this, in turn, would bring the route of the Children of Israel down Wady Taba on their way from Hazeroth to Ezion Geber. Ezion Geber in that case would be one of the enormous ruins beyond the new boundary pillar, somewhere about the head of the Gulf of Akaba, where the present pilgrimage route approaches the seashore, and it is not at all improbable that future expeditions may some day discover, beyond a peradventure, the exact locations of these ancient cities.

CHAPTER XXVII

HOW WE ENTERED TURKEY

WHEN we crossed the Turkish boundary at Akaba I said to my companions that we had now left the territory where law and order reign and had entered the Turkish dominions; while I did not know of any particular difficulty that we might encounter, I was perfectly sure we should meet with some new and unexpected adventure. We moved slowly along the sands of the quiet gulf just opposite Pharaoh's Island. We saw the rifle-pits which had been made by the Turkish soldiers two years before, when the British gave an ultimatum to Turkey and forced her to withdraw her soldiers from what was claimed to be Egyptian territory. As we swung round the head of the gulf we were greatly impressed with the beauty of the scene before us. The blue waters were as still as an inland lake, the sandy shore swung in a beautiful circle (Panorama 64) toward the east, where the groves of palm trees lined the shore, and through these palm trees appeared the massive walls of an ancient fortress and the poor mud-built houses of the wretched town of Akaba. Above the palm trees were seen the white tents of the military camp and far beyond rose the misty and mysterious mountains of Arabia, through which the Mecca caravans wend their way and into which the Christian traveller ventures only at the cost of his life. When we reached the point where the road from Egypt joins the caravan track which comes direct from Suez across the peninsula of the Gulf of Akaba, we noticed some commotion among the soldiers in the guard-house, and a moment later we witnessed a strange sight of a

race. A soldier had started on foot at the top of his speed along the sandy shore leading to the town. He was followed by another soldier riding a mule without a saddle. For a distance of nearly a thousand yards the footman succeeded in keeping ahead, but when overtaken by the soldier on the mule he gave up the race.

When we came up with the soldier on foot, we found out that they were making all speed to inform the commander of the military camp that the long-expected travellers had come. When we reached the edge of the grove of palm trees we were met by the military commander and several sheikhs of the village, who led us among the gardens and houses to what they supposed was a good camping-place by the sea below the old castle. We found the place, however, so filthy from the rubbish and dust of the town that we quickly made up our minds that we would not pitch our tents there. After enquiries were made, we took our way through the filthier streets, to a point above the town and just opposite the military camp, where, on a stony slope, we were glad to pitch our tents for the night.

While making our way from the edge of the gulf we had the next pleasant surprise of our journey. One of our trusty muleteers from Beirut came riding with a package of mail in his hands, and informed us that he and the rest of the caravan had reached Akaba just fifteen minutes before we arrived from Egypt. They were fully as glad to see us as we were to see them, and almost before our cameleers arrived with the camels our Beirut caravan made its way to the camping-place and threw down their precious loads of flour, candles, potatoes and groceries from Beirut; boxes containing more than 600 oranges from Jaffa and several hundred pounds of charcoal from Gaza. After we left Cairo this caravan had started from Beirut and made its way down the coast through Tyre and Sidon and Acca and Jaffa, then from Jaffa they journeyed to Gaza, and from Gaza to a new government center at Beersheba. Here,

through the kindly assistance of Dr. Brigstocke of Gaza, we had provided our caravan of 8 mules, 6 horses, 2 donkeys and 6 muleteers, with a guard of two splendid specimens of Bedawin soldiery. They were mounted on fast camels and carried everything necessary for the long and difficult desert journey. After leaving Beersheba these Arab guides led this caravan safely through the almost waterless desert country to Akaba, arriving, as I have already said, just fifteen minutes before our caravan arrived from Egypt. This was a fine result of careful planning. To send muleteers and riding horses into the desert and so far was something of an experiment, but we had decided to make the attempt for a number of good reasons. In all the journeys of travellers through the desert of Sinai into the country about the Gulf of Akaba, the greatest difficulty has been when the Sinai Arabs reach the boundaries of the next Arab tribe, with whom they were nearly always at war or in blood feud. It was their custom to drop their loads along the shore of the sea and leave the unhappy travellers to make fresh bargains with the next tribe, who soon assembled about them like a swarm of locusts. This was always the point where the travellers were bound to submit to the blackmailing practices of the sheikhs of Akaba. Because the British Government keeps order in the peninsula up to the new boundary line, and because the Sinaitic Arabs are known to be in the protection of the Egyptian Government, they do now venture another stage into the town of Akaba, so that we had no difficulty in persuading them to carry our loads over this last stage, since we promised to see them safely back over their boundaries again. Then, having provided our own caravan of riding horses, mules and muleteers from Beirut, we were no longer at the mercy of the scoundrel sheikhs of Akaba. When they heard of our party arriving from Egypt they, of course, expected to work all their old-fashioned tricks of the trade, but when they saw this well-set-up and well-provisioned

caravan from Beirut arrive at this opportune moment they realized sadly that their hope of blackmailing us was in vain.

By the time we had pitched our tents and spread out the loads from Egypt and from Beirut a good-sized crowd had gathered to see what was to be seen. The military commander returned, bringing a telegram from our friend, Consul-General Ravndal, in Beirut, telling us that much as he had desired to join us, he had not been able to do so. Then began to unfold a story which has in it elements of comedy and tragedy. Just above the military camp, with its rows of tents and paraphernalia for journeys in the desert round about, was a little group of soldiers in a different dress, and tethered beside their tentless resting-place were ten good strong mules with saddles. Before leaving Beirut I had requested our Consul-General, Mr. Ravndal, to ask the Governor-General Nazim Pasha in Damascus to send orders to the military commander in Kerak requesting an escort of soldiers to meet us at Akaba, naming the probable date of our arrival there. But somewhere among the various departments of the Governor's staff, the *date* of our arrival was lost, and at least three urgent telegrams reached the Lieutenant-Governor at Kerak, who at once despatched a guard of ten mounted soldiers. Leaving Kerak after midnight, they rode day and night over mountains and waterless desert to meet us at Akaba. Telegrams also reached the military governor to be on the lookout for us and render us every courtesy and see us safely back to Ma'an and Petra. All this preparation and telegraphing took place before I had left Beirut and before Dr Goucher and Mr. Taylor had left Brindisi. Then for forty-six days these poor soldiers sat and waited and watched for the coming of our caravan from Egypt. They were all Moslems and had come with only hasty preparation which they thought necessary for a forced ride down to Akaba and a leisurely ride back with the privileges of life in our camp.

During these weary forty-six days, as they told me afterward, they made vows to all the saints of the Mohammedan faith if only they would hurry up and bring these missing foreigners. Most of them had been raised in sections of the country where vegetables and eggs and milk and lebn were easily obtainable, so that during these forty-six days they were sickened and nauseated by the salt fish and rich oil in which the people of Akaba cooked everything they ate. The military commander, having received word of the coming of three Americans with their caravan, had also watched and waited in vain and, finally, became nervous concerning the situation, fearing that we might have slipped past Akaba and his camp and made our way into the country alone by the Hedjaz railway, where the Arabs and the government troops had been having frequent and bloody collisions. So it came to pass that our arrival gave great joy to our own caravan, to this special squad of mounted soldiers from Kerak and to the military commander, who was glad to have us safely under his eye; but the coming of the double caravan brought only despair to the minds of the avaricious sheikhs.

While our camp was being set up by our cameleers and muleteers we went to the house of the military commander and made our formal call upon him. While we were there three or four of the sheikhs of the town came slowly into the room. Knowing what was sure to be in the wind, we shortly after excused ourselves and invited the military commander to take tea with us in our tents. He followed us and spent a pleasant half-hour in conversation, joined by the telegraph operator, who soon showed his character in attempting to act as a go-between for the sheikhs. We told the military commander that it was our purpose, after readjusting our loads and repacking our baggage, to leave Akaba the following day. He at once answered that we could not possibly journey until he had received assurance that the road was safe. We answered that the Lieutenant-

Governor of Kerak, at the direction of the Governor Nazim Pasha in Damascus, had already sent us ten mounted soldiers, and that if the military commander thought that this escort was too small, he knew his own business and would, of course, do what he thought necessary. His answers were anything but satisfactory, and before many hours had passed by we felt sure that he was acting in league with the sheikhs and was desirous of giving them an opportunity to employ their arts against us. After his call was over, the telegraph operator speedily made known his purpose and connection with the sheikhs by informing us that we could not journey until we had made satisfactory arrangements with them. This led quickly to a second call on the military commander and our interview with him soon became a warm one. He pretended that he must telegraph back and forth, and could not allow us to start until he had received orders from those with whom he was communicating. We told him that whether he received orders or not we intended to start just as soon as we could make ourselves ready. Then he demanded that we should give a written paper saying that we took all responsibility in the matter and absolved him from all consequence of any trouble that might happen to us by the way. We refused point-blank to give any such release. We insisted that the Turkish Government was in possession of that section of the country, and that we were under no obligation to make any terms or conduct any negotiations with any other than government officials. He had received telegrams; we carried with us and showed to him our *Biyurldih*, which bore the seal of the Governor-General at Damascus. We were fully identified by the telegram which he had received from our American Consul-General in Beirut. The Governor-General of Damascus had sent the special guard of mounted soldiers to meet us, and we absolutely and emphatically refused to submit to a single piaster of blackmail at the hands of the sheikhs of Akaba. We

fully accepted all responsibility for our action in the circumstances, and if he, with the information which we did not possess, deemed a larger escort necessary, he must either provide the same or make satisfactory answer to those who would hold him responsible, and with that declaration we left him and the sheikhs to conspire while we slept peacefully in our tents.

In the morning came the real tug-of-war. The sheikhs had evidently spent several hours in conference with each other, employing the telegraph operator as their go-between with the Kologasi or commander. Our muleteers and camp followers had received word from various sources that we were not allowed to journey until we had made satisfactory arrangements with the sheikhs, but to these messages we paid no attention. It required several hours to rearrange all our loads properly, and while the men of the camp were proceeding with these matters I reopened communication with the Kologasi. He evidently was between two fires, as we well understood later, because he was threatened by the sheikhs from one side, who were willing to make some sort of disturbance, and troubled by our active preparations on the other. A number of soldiers were sent up unarmed, ostensibly to keep the crowd back, but also to prevent the starting of the muleteers. I had sent repeated messages to the Kologasi, telling him that we were loaded up and expecting to move just as soon as we could complete our preparation. About 11 o'clock, when we were ready to move, some of the soldiers actually seized the halters of the mules and prevented the muleteers from starting out. By that time the sun was high in the heavens and the heat pushing toward its maximum. When I realized that they were actually determined to keep our mules from moving by force, I made straight for the telegraph office and there found the Kologasi and the sheikhs seated about the operator, who was busy at the end of the wire which started from there to the government center at

Kerak. I immediately announced my willingness to pay the threefold rate on telegrams which according to the Turkish law, gives one the right to break in upon any message that is being sent and even to take precedence of government business, and at once proceeded to write three telegrams, the first to Nazim Pasha, the Governor of Damascus, informing him that the local commander at Akaba refused to respect his buyurudy which we held in our hands, and was actually detaining us with our loads in the hot sun at Akaba. The second telegram I wrote to our American Consul-General at Beirut, giving him the same word, and informing him that we should claim compensation for the delay and anything that might happen to our loads and persons. The third telegram I wrote to our Consular Agent at Damascus asking him to at once communicate with the Governor-General. Whilst I was engaged in writing these telegrams the Kologasi showed that he understood the meaning of my move. At the same time I gathered from his conversation with the telegraph operator that he was attempting to get into direct communication with the Governor at Kerak, whom we afterward found to be a most enterprising and wide-awake Circassian, who was entering jubilantly into the little comedy that was being enacted at our end of the wire. When my telegrams were ready and I made my demand with gold in my hand, the Kologasi begged me to be patient and give him a little time. Almost at this instant came a message over the wire which, the telegraph operator having put into writing, proved to be a question from the Governor at Kerak who was interrogating the wretched sheikhs of Akaba concerning our difficulty. The Governor asked why the sheikhs of Akaba were unwilling to guarantee our safe escort on the three days' journey from Akaba to Ma'an. Then the Kologasi paused and waited for their answer. They said that many years before they had made a treaty with the Consuls in Cairo, according to which every traveller passing through

their territory was to pay a stipulated sum for every camel furnished, and a fee of £5 each for every member of the party. It was ludicrous to watch them as they were obliged to make this confession openly after they had been beating round the bush with hints during the past eighteen hours. Then a second question came over the wire asking whether they still persisted in their refusal to grant us the safe escort referred to. At this point I interposed and demanded as a right that I should be allowed to ask a question of the Governor of Kerak, and what I wished to ask was the simple question whether there were two governments in the region of Akaba or one. But the Kologasi again begged for a little time, and while he was making his answer to the Governor, I assured the sheikhs that they had put their heads, every one of them, into a noose and all that was now required was that we should pull the rope. I told them that we knew the names and history of their fathers and grandfathers and of all the tricks they had played upon travellers during the last hundred years, and now that the Turkish Government had occupied their town with a garrison, their wretched rule and trickery was at an end. We and other travellers would come into that section of the country in spite of them; if they treated us decently we would deal with them fairly, and it would be to their interest to drop their old tricks and welcome travellers who would leave many a piece of gold for services they could easily render, but if they wished to keep up their old methods travellers would be obliged to bring in larger escorts of soldiers, who would receive all the gifts and benefits which would otherwise belong to them.

While this conversation was going on, the telegraph operator had taken another long message on the wire and had handed it to the Kologasi, whose face relaxed and into his eyes came a knowing sort of twinkle. He stood up and announced that it was the command of the Governor at Kerak that the sheikhs should guarantee us a safe escort,

and that we were now fully authorized to take our departure with all our caravan. Then, seizing me by the arm, he marched me outside to some distance away, and informed me that he would give me another section of this message, which was to assure me from the lips of the Governor that we were completely under his protection and he would guarantee our safe arrival against all marauders. A short section of the telegram, to which he made mysterious allusions, he said he was not privileged to make known to me at that particular stage. His whole attitude indicated a very great change in his feeling toward us, and we were greatly at a loss to understand what it meant. By this time the sheikhs made up their mind that in order to save their own face one of them must, in some way, be allowed to accompany us, because it would never do for any party of travellers to pass out of the town without being apparently under their gracious protection. When old Sheikh Ali announced that he wished to accompany us, I assured him with more feeling than ever that his presence was absolutely unnecessary; we thanked him for his thought, but insisted upon his remaining quietly in his city home. Guessing that we understood the situation, he then presented a humble plea to be allowed to accompany us, and still we were obdurate, and finally I told him that if he went along he went entirely at his own expense, must care for his own horse, provide his own food, and expect absolutely nothing from us in any way.

It is perhaps just as well to complete this story at this point and give the finale, although we are anticipating in time. Old Sheikh Ali followed us a long distance out of the town. We put our muleteers well in front of us, led by the ten mounted soldiers who had come to escort us so many days before. We followed our caravan at a little distance, accompanied by another seven soldiers on foot. The old Sheikh Ali followed at a very respectful distance, and in this order we moved slowly away from the town toward the

north, and swung slowly round the desolate slope, directing our course toward Wady Yetem.

Immediately we had left the town the Kologasi acted upon the remaining section of the telegraphic orders of the Governor at Kerak, which was to the effect that he was to arrest all the sheikhs of the town and keep them safely in prison till we had completed the three days' journey and were safe at Ma'an. This enabled us to understand the good humor of the Kologasi when he bade us farewell. If, as we suspected, he was originally in league with the sheikhs for extracting some bakshish from us, he was also disappointed with the sheikhs when they found that their game would not work. It is true that we did not at any moment have any message or suggestion from him concerning bakshish, but we are perfectly sure that if the sheikhs had succeeded in their demands the Kologasi would not have been any poorer.

However, we as a party had escaped from the snares of all; the next best fortune for the Kologasi was to get the sheikhs into prison, because it was perfectly sure that before they were released he would have larger stores of semmen and wheat and other eatables in his private larder. We learned of the arrest of the sheikhs at a point half-way to Ma'an, where another military camp had been temporarily established in order to prevent any sudden incursion of the Arabs from the south, where they had just massacred all the guard and officials at a railway station this side of Medina. The officer of this camp had also cut the telegraph wire and established a temporary station in one of his tents. It was here that old Sheikh Ali learned the sad fate of his brother sheikhs, and early the next morning there was a mute appeal for mercy in the shape of a little lamb tied to one of the tentropes. We fully understood the old man's petition. We accepted the lamb and made a present of it to the hungry soldiers, but, at the same time, insisted on paying the old

sheikh double its money value and refusing to be placated by such a paltry gift.

When we reached Kerak some two weeks later, we at once called on the Governor, and he asked us, rather facetiously, how we had enjoyed our stay in Akaba. We made answer in general terms until the old gentleman clearly revealed to us that he knew the whole story from beginning to end, and then, with great guffaws of laughter, he told his side of the negotiations with the wretched sheikhs and how hugely he had enjoyed putting them into prison. He thoroughly confirmed the position we took in dealing with them, insisting with the Kologasi on the fact that the Turkish Government was now in command of all that region, and that, therefore, no travellers were to be subjected to exactions from this ancient band of robbers who had preyed for centuries on the caravans from Egypt to Kerak.

Twenty-five years ago the Turkish Government had very little actual existence for a distance of five or ten miles outside Damascus. When any foreigner or traveller left that city he was practically taking his life in his hands and was under the obligation of caring for himself. If, by any means, he had acquired friends among the various Arab tribes, he could always secure trustworthy guides and travelling companions. About the year 1885 the Government began to push its actual sway down the highlands east of Jordan. One of the first main lines of its policy was to offer rich lands to the Circassian tribes from Asia Minor. In 1864, when Russia acquired the Caucasus, these Circassians, rather than reckon themselves in subjection to that power, chose to migrate to Turkey, and nearly the whole nation of fifteen tribes, four or five thousand people, came into Turkey. A great part of them found homes in Asia Minor, but one section served the Turkish Government well in the Bulgarian troubles of 1876-77, and when Europe decreed that they should leave the bloody plains and cities of Bulgaria, the Turkish

Government decided to pit them against the Bedawin of the desert, and brought many thousands of them into the country east of the Jordan, and slowly drove them, like a wedge, down the highlands until there are now not less than 50,000 of them in the various colonies. The Government first gave them vacant lands at Baalbec, and from this center these Circassians proceeded to explore the unoccupied territory east of the Jordan. The process of occupation was a simple one. The Government claims all the ancient buildings and fortresses of all ages, no matter what tribes of Bedawin may tent among them. Very often, when the ownership of the land comes into question, the Government catches the poor Arabs on the horns of a dilemma. "Who owns these lands?" "We do," answer the Arabs. "Well, where are your tabu deeds and when did you pay your taxes?" When the sum of back taxes claimed was equal to more than the value of the land, not to mention the absolute poverty of the Arabs, their only escape was to deny their former statements and be glad enough to prove that they neither claimed nor owned the land. Then the Government notified these Circassian colonists, giving them the vacant lands, furnishing them with seed corn, yokes of oxen and freeing them from taxes and military conscription, giving them a free hand in driving the Arabs back into the desert. This is what happened at Kuneitereh, in the Jaulan, at Jerash and Amman, in Ajlun, and at Wady Seir in Belka, just beyond the Dead Sea. As a result these Circassians, originally strong and free, continued to cherish their unrestrained love of independence. Their colonies were joined to each other by rough wagon roads, by common language, common modes of life, ties of marriage and of united action in their relations to the Turkish Government. While serving nominal masters they held this ancient frontier of the desert, and this served the purpose of the authorities at Constantinople in extending the sway of the Government at Damascus.

About the same time (1885) the Government established an armed camp on an ancient Roman site, one of the cities in the Decapolis, just east of the Sea of Galilee. When this regiment of mountain soldiery had gained a sufficient foothold among the surrounding Arabs, several civil officials were sent down from Damascus and the military authorities and their soldiers were moved another fifteen miles farther south. This process was repeated at intervals of two or three years until they reached Madeba, which is due east of Jericho. Then the camp was moved toward Kerak, the ancient Kir-Hareseth of the Bible (2 Kings 3). This city, a great natural fortress splendidly rebuilt by the Crusaders, defended by high walls above deep valleys, successfully resisted the Government for a number of years, and was finally reduced (1894) by an assault in which cannon were employed against the Arab inhabitants. During the sixteen years which have elapsed this city has revolted more than once, and in 1910 the civil officials of the garrison were obliged to take refuge in the ancient Crusader castle and await rescue at the hands of a large army sent down from Damascus.

The Government, however, having occupied Kerak with a large garrison of regular soldiery, again proceeded to push a small armed camp southward. They occupied the famous Crusader castle called Shobek, and from Shobek pushed southward to Ma'an, which has since become a great railroad center in connection with the Hedjaz Railway. From Ma'an they pushed their armed camp to a place called Guwairah, which has since proved to be the location of a Roman armed camp which held this frontier against the Bedawin tribes eighteen hundred years ago. Then from Guwairah, only two years before our visit, the Government made its final move and pushed the armed camp into Akaba. So that when we pitched our tents above the town we were in actual contact with this armed camp of the Government, which represented the thin edge

of the wedge which it has taken the Government twenty-five years to drive into this part of the desert.

The commander of the camp had levelled a large plaza above the town, on which there was space enough for a regiment of soldiers with their tents and commissariat and battery of light cannon. The camp was in the form of a hollow square, within which the regular soldiers did their daily drill and presented a great object lesson to the eyes of these lawless inhabitants, who for centuries have preyed like leeches on the Egyptian caravan which used to pass yearly on its way to Mecca. The soldiers had dug a new well in the gravelly slope above the town. Water was being drawn from it by means of a windlass and a rope not less than 40 or 50 feet long. The commander of the troops gave us permission for all the water needed in our camp, and this proved to be a great boon when we found how completely defiled the wells in the town had become through the carelessness of the wretched people and the hordes of Egyptian pilgrims once accustomed to make use of them.

The special guard of ten soldiers sent by the Governor of Kerak disposed themselves about our tents, and while we took more than ordinary precautions against sneak thieves, we did sleep quietly that night in close touch with the Turkish soldiers and surrounded by our own cameleers from Sinai and muleteers from Beirut.

CHAPTER XXVIII

AKABA TO MA'AN

AKABA, at the head of the gulf, is a beautiful spot (seen from a distance), because of its oasis-like clusters of palm trees and the shimmering sea at their base. But the town itself is wretchedness and filth personified. Rain seldom falls here, and the dirty inhabitants drink from brackish and almost putrid wells. The old Castle or Caravansary is half in ruins and the other houses are mouldering mud heaps. If one heavy rain ever came these houses would crumble into ruins in a few hours.

The head of the gulf forms a natural harbor. Almost tideless, landlocked, with an abundance of gravelly sea-shore. The water is beautifully clear and contains a great abundance of edible fish. Now and then an English gunboat visits the town and finds safe anchorage within 200 yards of the shores. It might some day become a port of some value. At present the fortunes of the town are at a low ebb. Indian and Egyptian pilgrims land in thousands at Jeddeh, but a greatly increasing number from Persia, Russia and North Africa make for the coasts of Syria, and, after visiting Damascus, take the Hedjaz Pilgrimage Railway southward along the old desert route to Medina, and make the remainder of the pilgrimage in the old-fashioned way on camels, so that during the year 1909 only a few straggling parties of the poorest Mograbies—North Africans—passed through Akaba. Hence the main occupation of the wretched people is lost.

During our encounter with the sheikhs and the military governor, we managed to examine the camp and note that

it contained about 200 soldiers of the regular army fairly well equipped with light cannon, a camel corps and all the paraphernalia of water-skins and outfit for trips into the desert. We heard of one detachment off among the Bedawins and saw another in camp half way to Ma'an. The whole surrounding country was in a turmoil, of which we saw many signs later on.

I had seen this camp four years before at Ma'an, pitched in about the same order. The low military tents formed a hollow square, inside of which were the greater part of the mules, artillery and stores. The commander was living for the time in a fairly clean room, well-built of mud bricks made on the spot. Another double room was occupied by the telegraph station.

After our unavoidable delay we were not sorry to bid the commander "Good-bye" and turn our faces northward along the Arabah. It was a superb day for views of the western side of the great rift, and as we pulled up the slope away from the town we could see northward to the region of the Dead Sea, though its waters were below the line of sight.

After an hour and a half, we swung slowly to the right, and thirty-five minutes later we were well inside Wady Yetem, through which we journeyed for the next twenty-four hours. This valley in its lower reaches is little more than a ravine, but not too steep or narrow for a comfortable and fairly easy road. A little distance up this valley, at a point about two and a half hours away from Akaba, is a rather massive dyke of hewn stone called el Masadd, the Arabic word meaning a "cork" or "plug." It stretches directly across the valley and is about 100 yards long, $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick and in some places still about 8 feet high. The road passes through a rough break near the center of the wall. The Arabs have several insignificant traditions concerning its former use. Several explorers in the past have searched in every direction about the wall, expecting

to find that it was a dam for retaining the water in the valley, or possibly the path of an aqueduct, all of which speculations are completely at fault. Knowing as we do now of the existence of the great Roman Wall which extends from the vicinity of Madeba across the mountain tops in Moab and Edom, to keep out the troublesome Arabs, this section is plainly a piece of that same wall erected at this point in this ancient roadway leading from Akaba up to the plateau above. Its Roman origin is clearly revealed by a comparison with other sections of the wall which are built of the same large roughly hewn blocks and joined with a hard Roman cement, which retains its binding character to the present hour.

Having made such a late start from Akaba, together with the fact that our mules were rather heavily laden, we found it necessary to pitch our camp somewhat nearer to Akaba than we had hoped and at some distance this side of where water was said to exist. We chose a spot near an ancient Arab graveyard which bears the name of Abu Jiddeh.

While waiting here for the arrival of our caravan we were able to take stock of our increasing numbers, a matter of vital importance when viewed in connection with the fact that this was also to be a dry camp, and, unfortunately for us, Milhem had sold our famous water-barrels for a song in the town of Akaba, not supposing that we should have any further need of them. Our caravan included ten soldiers who had been sent so many days before from Kerak, with nine others which the commander at Akaba had felt necessary for our safety, making nineteen soldiers in all. There were our seven muleteers, great husky fellows, six of our own party, and the crestfallen, melancholy Sheikh Ali, in all, thirty-three persons. There were fifteen horses, eighteen mules, two camels and three donkeys, thirty-eight in all, making a total of seventy-one thirsty mouths needing water. The camels belonged to two

splendid specimens of desert Arabs, who proved such faithful, useful, willing, helpful fellows that we shall never forget them. If other travellers into the desert about Kadesh Barnea or Beersheba have need of guides and can secure either or both of these men they will do well. I certainly would never visit that section of the world again without making a special effort to secure the services of these fellows. They were the men who safely piloted our Beirut caravan from Beersheba across the desert, a nine days' journey, to Akaba, leading the well-laden mules and muleteers from desert well to desert well in safety and on time to Akaba. Our muleteers were lavish in their appreciative expressions concerning their skill, kindness and bravery. We quickly decided in Akaba to take them onward as far as Ma'an and Petra, from which point we started then due west across the Arabah and the desert to their own dwelling-place at Beersheba. They were Muhawish Ibn Salman and Omar Ibn Khalil, and may their shadows never grow less. They rode two of the finest riding camels we saw in the desert, and they carried with them an outfit of rifles, ammunition, heavy sheep-skin coats, guns, water-skins and bread bags, not forgetting tobacco pouches, that easily made them independent on the longest desert stretches.

With this party of seventy-one thirsty mouths, not to mention the necessities of Butrus the cook and the kitchen tent, our first concern was the matter of the water. Our tents were not pitched until almost sunset, and several of our muleteers and five or six of the foot soldiers went up the valley in search of a fountain known to exist. They led with them a string of thirsty horses, mules and donkeys, but after an absence of more than two hours and a half, they came back in the darkness without having been able to find the precious water. I was greatly struck by the fact that after their long hard day of making up loads in Akaba, climbing for some six hours as they did through this arid

valley, they came back uncomplaining. We had water in our smaller skins and canteens to provide the supper. Along about midnight, Muhawish, without a word of suggestion from us, showed his desert training and splendid spirit of helpfulness. Taking all the empty water-skins on his camel, accompanied by one of the muleteers, he disappeared up the valley in the darkness. His desert instinct, perhaps assisted by that of his camel, enabled him to find the precious water spring fully ten minutes away from the trail in the valley, and after two hours he returned, his camel encircled with the well-filled wobbly water-skins, the swish of which awakened every thirsty human being in the camp. Almost before he could dismount he was surrounded by soldiers and muleteers, who were raising grateful petitions in the darkness for his everlasting blessing and peace. It was an act of service that raised him in the estimate of us all and for which we shall always cherish his memory.

The next day (March 9th) we left camp at 7.30 A. M., and our going now on horses changes the distance covered during the hour. Roughly speaking, the camels made not more than two to two and a half miles per hour, our pack animals easily covered three miles an hour, while we, more lightly laden, on our riding animals, were frequently an hour or two ahead of them. Just an hour above our camp (at 8.30) we were opposite the little fountain for which the muleteers had vainly searched the night before. The name given to us was Ain Abu Horon, but in another recent record the Dominican fathers of St. Etienne at Jerusalem give the name as Ain Haldi. At any rate the fountain is to the right and about ten minutes above the road, good water and a running stream. While taking careful note of its character and location, we were pleasantly impressed with the fact that the country round about was no longer completely desert. Before I had remounted my horse I had bagged four fat pigeons, one partridge and a good large hare. All through the desert of Sinai I had been able

to shoot nothing except immediately in front of and opposite to the monastery of Saint Katharine, where I took toll of a good-sized covey of partridges. But from this point in our journey onward to Jerusalem there was not a day in which we did not enjoy some game upon our table. We found the famous blue-rock pigeons everywhere; they are strong flyers and not easy to shoot on the wing. Less abundant, but still found almost everywhere, is the large beautiful plumaged partridge of Syria, one of the finest game birds in the world. In and about the rocks of Petra is another much smaller variety of brown partridge, resembling in size and appearance the ordinary quail, but in its habits and call quite plainly of the partridge family.

Our barometers, readjusted at Akaba, registered 405 meters (1328 feet) in our camp at Abu Jiddeh. About three hours beyond the camp the valley gradually widens out, and an hour beyond opens into the Plain of El Mezraa, which, as its name indicates, is a cultivated section of land at an elevation of 800 meters (2624 feet) above the waters of the Gulf of Akaba.

Here in this plain were recently discovered a large milestone of Trajan and, in the vicinity, several other milestones, giving at once the direction of Roman roads which centered at this spot. There is every reason to believe that the ancient Roman road from Ailah (Elath) on the coast lay in this same Wady Yetem which we have just traversed, even though we had noticed no traces anywhere except perhaps, at El Masadd, the bit of Roman wall referred to.

This plain of El Mezraa opens out an hour beyond into the great plain Hismeh, which runs, generally speaking, from northwest to southeast. Our path lay diagonally across this plain toward the northeast. To our right the landscape ended in a forest of isolated peaks or small mountains of sandstone, plainly of the same formation and about the same level as the great Petra masses and the masses already referred to on the other side of the Gulf of

Akaba. In the center of this plain and on the line of the Sultan's Highway is a large sandstone mass called Muhaimeh, at the base of which we saw the tents of another small military camp which we had heard of at Akaba. It was placed here to intercept bands of predatory Arabs who might be tempted to run through this country from the district farther south, where all was at this very time confusion and bloodshed. Before we reached this camp, however, we were pleasantly surprised by another detachment of cavalry of some nine mounted soldiers which came out quite a distance across the plain and lined up very respectfully on our left and saluted as we came opposite them. We afterward found that they had been sent a day's journey from Ma'an to meet us at this point. In one of the tents by the side of the sandstone peak was a little temporary telegraph office, and here the already crestfallen Sheikh Ali learned to his sorrow that his fellow sheikhs were all safely lodged in the prison at Akaba.

The ruins about this peak bear the name Guwairah. They are very plainly of Roman origin and stand at the juncture of Roman roads, one of which led directly north into Petra; the second, along which we had come, sloped downward to Akaba; the third, which marked the line of our route, led upward to the great plateau and on to Ma'an; while the fourth one extended to the southeast to the recently discovered, ancient, rock-hewn cities of Medayin Salih and unexplored locations beyond.

After the arrival of our caravan and the pitching of our tents, our first great concern was again the matter of water. The fountain called Ain Guwairah lies westward some fifteen minutes away, and, as we found to our sorrow, was totally insufficient for our needs after the soldiers and officers of the camp had satisfied theirs. The larger part of the thirty-six horses, mules and donkeys had gone without water at the camp in the valley below, and after they had been loaded in the morning the muleteers inconsiderately

failed to avail themselves of the spring at Ain Haldi, therefore they reached Guwaireh in an exceedingly thirsty condition. When they were led across the plain to the little Ain Guwaireh they found it a small muddy puddle with perhaps five or six gallons of water in the bottom. In their thirst and consternation our muleteers quarreled with our own soldiers. Meanwhile, the frantically thirsty mules and horses tramped the ground around the spring into a frightful mud hole, and they all came back to the camp hot, angry, swearing and unhappy, a striking contrast to their behavior the night before. The military commander of the camp relieved the absolute necessity of our kitchen tent by the gift of a five-gallon tin of nasty, clayey, discolored water, and the whole camp spent a troubled and weary night. The horses, without water, were unable to eat their dry food, and the next day two of them almost fainted by the way. I mention these facts to warn other travellers from Sinai against the mistake of throwing away their water-barrels before they reach the plateau above.

When we awoke in the morning we found a last peace-offering of old Sheikh Ali tied to one of our tent-ropes in the shape of a small and rather lean lamb. After paying him double its value and delivering to him some more good advice as to how he should treat travellers in the future, we relaxed our attitude of displeasure enough to bid him a friendly farewell. I charged him to deal rightly with two small parties whom we knew would be following us, but I afterward learned that he and his crew blackmailed our two German friends to the extent of £5 each, in addition to the prices they charged them for their camels. So far as I know we are the first party who ever succeeded in having provided themselves with another caravan of mules and horses at Akaba, and of thus escaping completely these ancient tricks upon travellers.

Our road lay across this plain of Hismeh to the north-east for fully four hours, to the base of the final ascent to

the plateau beyond. This famous ascent along the line of the ancient Roman road is called Nagb Estar, and is truly a magnificent natural roadway, winding up, around and over great shoulders of the mountains in the very opposite direction to the valley winding through Wady Yetem. During this ascent the surrounding plain of the whole district, for many miles in every direction unrolls itself to the eyes of the delighted traveller in a superbly beautiful panorama. The ascent, itself, occupies fully an hour and a quarter, overcoming an elevation of 800 meters (2624 feet) as measured from our camp in the plain below. The forest of isolated sandstone mountains or peaks, before referred to, finally appears below us, dotting the plain as far as the eye can reach with what in many instances seem like cyclopean pyramids.

During the afternoon the light of the westering sun, pouring over and between these innumerable masses of colored sandstone, produces effects of light and shade and coloring that are simply indescribable. They form such a warm coloring against the staring white cavity of the Arabah and the still hazier mountains of the Tih beyond. We were enchanted with this constantly widening panorama, and when we reached the top of the nagb we were truly saddened at turning, possibly for ever, from such a beautiful scene. Ten minutes beyond the top of the pass we came to the ancient Fuwaileh with its ruined fortress or khan, which is plainly another station on the great Roman road which once resounded to the hoofs of Roman war horses and the clang of the Roman chariots. About an hour beyond the top of the pass is one of the finest fountains (Ain Abul-Lisan) in this East Jordan country. It lies in a beautiful grass-covered slope, and a half-dozen heads or sources send a good-sized stream down the valley for a couple of miles before it disappears in the rocks and sand. We camped on the green slope at the fountain itself and spent a delightful night, because every

animal and person in the camp was relieved of the thirst which had haunted us during the two days which preceded. The Arabs themselves rarely camped at this or any other fountain, preferring to quench their thirst and then seek some more secluded and safer spot an hour or more away. This fountain is famous as a rendezvous for the Bedawin tribes when gathering for a raid in this section of the country. It is large enough to support a city and water gardens on either side of the valley for several miles, but, on account of the insecurity, is absolutely destitute of any permanent occupation. Our barometers gave the elevation for this fountain as 1510 meters (4954 feet).

The journey the next day over the rolling plains of Ma'an occupied some seven and three-quarter hours for our caravan, but we, accompanied by seven mounted soldiers and our two Beersheba cameleers, pushed ahead and covered the distance in about five hours. Our first call was on the Kaimakam or Governor, a Turk of exceedingly unprepossessing and sullen aspect. It being Friday, he kept us waiting for quite a while before he appeared in a dishevelled and untidy condition. He wore dark green glasses and slovenly slippers trodden down at the heel, he had neither information nor suggestion for us, and, after despatching telegrams to Beirut, we rode another hour to the railroad station at Ma'an, where we pitched our tents for the night.

A few minutes after our arrival we were called upon by a gentleman who furnished a splendid contrast to this specimen of Turkish indolence and stupidity. It was our good friend Meisner Pasha, the German engineer of the Hedjaz Pilgrimage Railway. Courteous, clean, scholarly and obliging, he lost not a moment in bringing us a great package of some fifty letters which had been accumulating in his care since before we left Cairo.

During the next eighteen hours we had many other proofs of the kindness and thoughtfulness of this truly delightful

friend. He gave us freely all the information we sought concerning the building of the Hedjaz Railway, and in a visit to his home entertained us with a view of his extensive cabinets of European minerals and curios gathered in this part of the world.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE HEDJAZ PILGRIMAGE RAILWAY

IN the introductory chapter I noted the fact that the first stage of the Route of the Exodus was cut by the Suez Canal and its last stage by the Mecca Railway, and here, at Ma'an, we were actually in contact with this unique enterprise of modern times. It was conceived during the reign of the deposed Sultan Abdul Hamid and linked up with his most ambitious project, the realization of the Pan-Islamic idea. The first section, from Damascus to Ma'an, exactly one-third of the distance to Medina, was opened with great pomp September 1, 1904, at Ma'an, on the anniversary of the Sultan's accession. Figure 65 gives a unique view of the gathering while the Sultan's message was being read. Note the hands in the act of supplication. Four years later a still more impressive ceremony was performed at Medina by officials from Constantinople, great dignitaries from Mecca, and a still greater gathering of the Arab tribes of Arabia.

The ostensible purpose of the railway is given in its name, the Hedjaz Pilgrimage Railway, and the final plan includes the joining of the Haramain, the two holy places, Mecca and Medina, with Damascus, another holy city in the world of Islam. It is supposed that 150,000 pilgrims might be reckoned upon yearly, but whether or not these expectations have been realized it is difficult to say. In 1909 the Khedive of Egypt came *via* Haifa and went by rail to Medina on his pilgrimage to Mecca. A year later, in 1910, the Egyptian "mahmal" with the sacred carpet also came to Haifa and down the peninsula by this same railway to Medina.



Listening to the Sultan's Message at Ma'an when the first section of the Hedjaz Pilgrimage Railway was opened,
September 1, 1904

That the railway has also a military and strategic value no one will deny. The sway of the Turkish Government in all Arabia has been strengthened and when the final link between Mecca and Jeddeh is complete, with extensions to Sanaa and other points southward, it should be much easier to subdue and control these turbulent nomad tribes. That the railroad has also a bearing upon the Egyptian problem is fully recognized. When the famous Baghdad Railway, which is now in full operation to Konia, is completed through the Taurus Mountains, as promised for 1915, it will be linked up by a branch with Aleppo. Then it will be possible to go by an unbroken rail route direct from Constantinople to Mecca, not to mention the same possibility from Berlin or Paris.

The distances are not small. From Damascus to Medina is 1302 kilometers (about 840 miles). The branch from Deraa, the old capital of Og, the king of Bashan, to Haifa and Mount Carmel is another 161 kilometers with a small spur of 2 kilometers, making 1465 kilometers in all, which Meisner Pasha told us had been built for a sum of 3,500,000 Turkish pounds, or 925 miles for \$15,540,000, or less than \$17,000 per mile. When the revolution occurred in 1908 the road still needed another 250,000 Turkish pounds to complete bridges and culverts, and was rapidly falling into disrepair. The Parliament was recently considering the possibility of a new loan of 300,000 to 400,000 Turkish pounds, with which to cancel floating debts and to construct the portion from Jeddeh to Mecca.

No railroad was ever more strangely financed, since it was well understood from the beginning that it could never succeed as an ordinary financial enterprise. It was to have been built by gifts from pious Moslems all over the world, but these were supplemented by a series of stamp and other acts inside the Ottoman Empire that are unique even in Turkish history. When the voluntary gifts, which were perhaps less than one-hundredth part of the cost required,

grew slack the Sultan began to issue Imperial Rescripts, and has kept up this process until there are stamps or imposts on nearly everything in the Empire. A stamp of one piaster (4 cents) was levied upon every petition presented to the government authorities for every conceivable purpose. Then came a house tax of 5 piasters on every house in Constantinople. Provincial governors were expected to follow this shining example. Later on the Sultan decided upon a minimum tax of 5 piasters upon every Moslem male in the Empire, and the overloyal periodicals published articles declaring that Moslems in all lands ought to accept this call willingly and render the same tribute to their spiritual head. The Rescript gave careful directions that 5 piasters was the minimum for the poorest, but all who could were to pay according to their ability. Then the salaries of all government officials were treated to a per centum assessment, and all owners of *decorations*, and they are myriad, were directed to make a *thank offering* according to the grade of their decorations, and the scale of gifts was published in all the papers. Wood and coal were subjected to a new impost, and so was every parcel coming through every custom house in the Empire. Another Rescript directed that all the skins of all the animals slaughtered in the government slaughterhouses should be devoted to this holy project. The stamps were gradually extended to all commercial papers, deeds, etc., and all the foreign embassies put in their protests. The road is nominally built by the followers of the Prophet, but these stamp acts have put both the Christians and the foreigners under tribute. Almost every department of the government has been obliged to make some contribution to this pet scheme of the Sultan. There have been times of financial stringency when foreign sellers of railroad equipments have been ungracious enough to require a cash accompaniment to orders for rails and rolling stock. German engineers surveyed the road, Americans supplied a large



The Meeting and Parting-place of the Old Caravan and the New Railway

part of the rails, but the work of digging was done mainly by the *battalions of regular soldiers* sent down along the line for that purpose. Special inducements were offered to those who would use the pick and shovel instead of the rifle—one year of the railroad service counting as two years of their compulsory military service. So that even the military establishment has been affected by this marvelous project. This will explain how the 1465 kilometers have been completed at an apparently small expense.

Of the first \$4,740,000 collected, the largest item on the list was the \$2,650,000 from the skins of slaughtered animals. At a later stage the government offered some 17,000,000 unused stamps, remnants of many issues during the past twenty-five years, for sale, and the proceeds were given to the railway scheme. It is further said, though I cannot vouch for the authority, that of the total \$16,000,000 spent on the project up to November, 1908, about \$6,000,000 came from Moslems outside the Turkish Empire.

An intelligent engineer among the builders of this desert railway said to me that he admired Muhammad's shrewdness in placing the goal of the Moslem pilgrimage in the center of Arabia. A simple numerical calculation will reveal the interesting fact that the pilgrims bring and spend not less than 10,000,000 English pounds yearly in Arabia. This and this alone furnishes a livelihood to the Arabs of Arabia and keeps them all in good fighting trim. If the present government wished to subdue completely the troublesome Bedawin, and dared to take such a step, it could do so by stopping the pilgrimage for from three to five years and at the same time cutting off the entrance of contraband arms and ammunition by way of the Red Sea and Gulf of Akaba.

The railway follows the line of an ancient caravan route from Damascus into Arabia over which Muhammad journeyed as a trader with camels before he assumed the rôle of prophet. And in one of his journeys to Egypt he

passed through Sinai, as witnessed by a traditional resting-place in Wady Selaif near the Oasis of Feiran. The railroad below Ma'an passes from oasis to oasis as did the ancient caravan and pilgrimage route.

The Waly of Damascus had promised us a permit to go down the railway to *el Ula*, the farthest point open to foreigners. But while we were in Sinai some Bedawin had raided that particular station and massacred the thirty-nine employes and guards, leaving not a soul to tell the tale. This fact, in addition to the existence of a cholera cordon, where we should have been quarantined on our return journey, easily decided the matter for us.

Incidentally this Pilgrimage Railway has opened up for tourists one of the most interesting, and formerly, most inaccessible, sights of the world. For one long day's journey across the rolling plateau westward, followed by a descent from 5400 to 2000 feet, you are at the famous entrance of Petra. And thither we traced our footsteps from Ma'an.

Each year as the railhead was carried farther into the desert the pilgrims were carried in trains to the railhead and then transferred to the tents and camels of the ancient caravan. It was a strange meeting and parting of the Old World and the New. See Figure 66 for a sight that we shall never be able to see again. Figure 67 gives us a good idea of the future pilgrimage as it halts for the sunset prayer.



The Halt for the Sunset Prayer on the Hedjaz Pilgrimage Railway

CHAPTER XXX

THE ROCK CITY OF PETRA

THE highlands east of the Jordan River are strewn with ruins marking the rise and fall of successive civilizations—Semitic, Greek, Roman, Christian, Mohammedan and Crusader. These ruins have been preserved for the modern explorer by the tides of nomadic life which have swept up from the Arabian desert, but at the southern end of this no-man's land, deep in the mountains of Edom, lies one of the strangest, most beautiful and most enchanting spots upon this earth—the Rock City of Petra. Its story carries us back to the dawn of human history. When Esau parted in anger from Jacob he went into Edom, then called Mount Seir, and after dispossessing the Horites became the progenitor of the Edomites, who remained the enemies of the children of Israel for a thousand years. These Edomites had princes, or kings, ruling in the Rock City while the children of Israel were still in Egyptian bondage. Some of the darkest maledictions of the Old Testament prophets are those aimed at Edom.

A GREAT "SAFE DEPOSIT"

In the days of the Nabatheans Petra became the central point to which the caravans from the interior of Arabia, Persia and India came laden with all the precious commodities of the East, and from which these commodities were distributed through Egypt, Palestine, Syria and all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, for even Tyre and Sidon derived many of their precious wares and dyes from Petra. It was at that time the Suez of this part of the

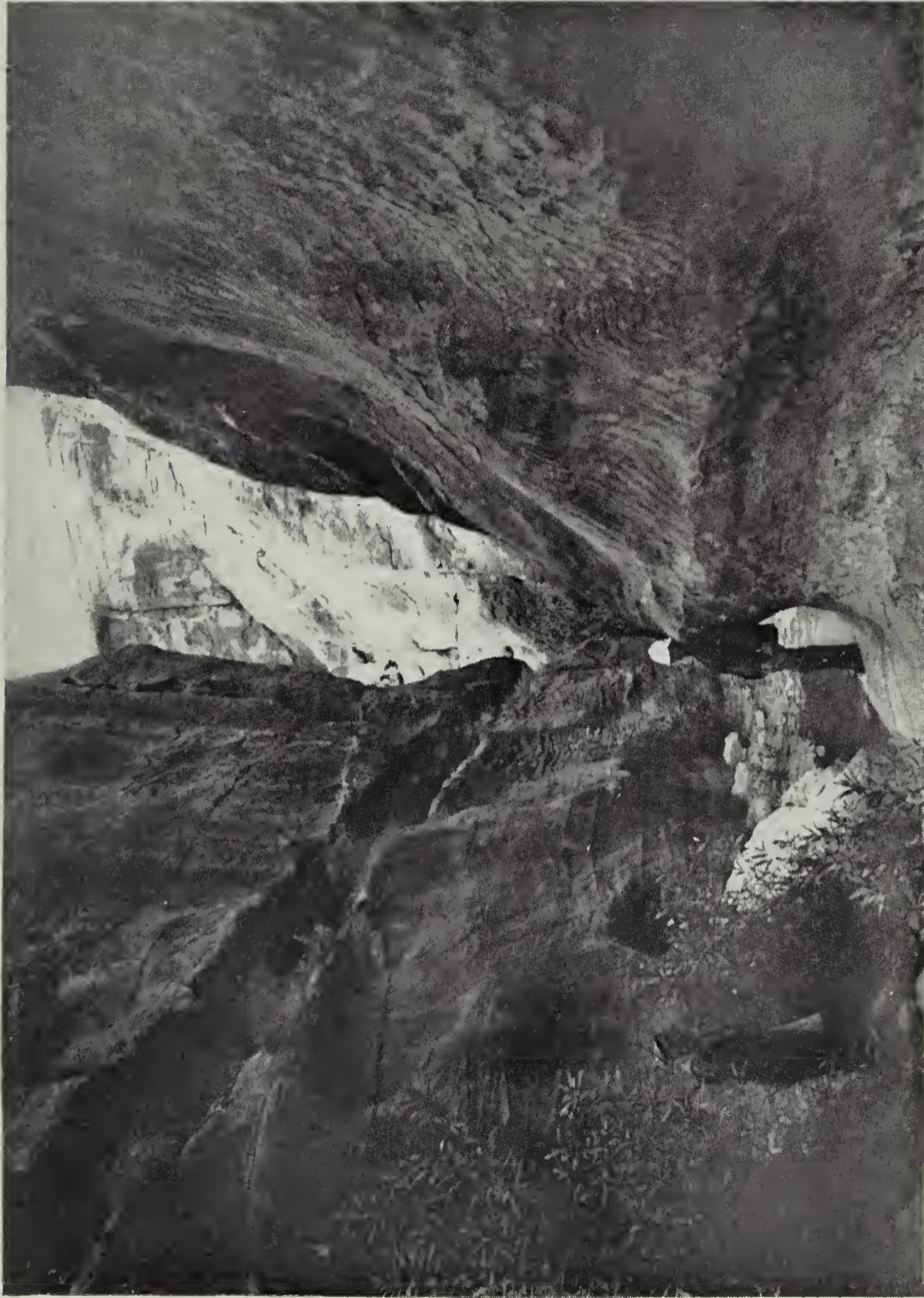
world, the place where the East and the West met to trade and barter. It was also, in fact, a great "safe deposit," into which the great caravans poured after the vicissitudes and dangers of the desert. Its wealth became fabulous, and it is not without some good reason that the first rock structure one sees in Petra, guarding the mysterious entrance, is still called "Pharaoh's Treasury." It must have been the Nabatheans who developed the natural beauties of the situation and increased the rock-cut dwellings, temples and tombs to the almost interminable extent in which they are found to-day.

The palmy period of the Nabatheans extended from 150 B. C. to 106 A. D., when the Romans conquered the country and city, extended two Roman roads into it, and established the province of Arabia Petra. The Rock City was always to these regions and peoples what Rome was to the Romans and Jerusalem to the Jews. Horites, Edomites, Nabatheans and Romans have all rejoiced and boasted in the possession of this unique stronghold and most remarkable city of antiquity.

When Rome's power waned and the fortified camps on the edge of the desert were abandoned, no doubt the soldiers were withdrawn from such cities as Petra. Then the Romanized Nabatheans or Nabatheanized Romans held their own against the desert hordes as long as they could, and went down probably about the same time as the Greek cities of the Decapolis (636 A. D.). From this time onward Petra's history becomes more and more obscure, and for more than a thousand years Edom's ancient capital was completely lost to the civilized world. Until its discovery by Burckhardt, in 1812, its site seems to have been unknown except to the wandering Bedawin.

THE SIK, OR ENTRANCE DEFILE

The entrance to the Rock City is the most striking gateway to any city on our planet. It is a narrow rift or defile,



Petra—Gorge of the Sik

Photo by Libbey and Hoskins

bisecting a mountain of many hued sandstone, winding through the rock as though it was the most plastic clay. This sik, or defile, is nearly two miles long. Its general contour is a wide semicircular swing from the right to the left, with innumerable short bends, having sharp curves and corners in its general course.

The width of the Sik varies from 12 feet at its narrowest point to 35 or 40 feet at other places. Where the gloomy walls actually overhang the roadway and almost shut out the blue ribbon of sky, it seems narrower, and perhaps at many points above the stream the walls do come closer than 12 feet. Photographs of these narrower and darker portions of the defile are impossible. Only where the walls recede and one side catches the sunlight (Fig. 68) was it possible to secure any views that would reveal the actual beauties of the place. Then no camera could be arranged to take in the whole height of the canyon. The height of the perpendicular side cliffs has been estimated at from 200 to 1000 feet. Heights, like distances, in this clear desert air are deceptive, but after many tests and observations we are prepared to say that at places they are almost sheer for 300 to 400 feet.

Seen at morning, midday, or midnight, the Sik, this matchless entrance to a hidden city, is unquestionably one of the great glories of ancient Petra. Along its cool, gloomy gorge file the caravans of antiquity—from Damascus and the East, from the desert, from Egypt and the heart of Africa. Kings, queens and conquerors have all marveled at its beauties and its strangeness. Wealth untold went in and out of it for centuries, and now for over thirteen hundred years it has been silent and deserted.

PHARAOH'S TREASURY

The first time we picked our way in this matchless defile, we wandered on amazed, enchanted and delighted, not wishing for, not expecting that anything could be finer.

than this, when a look ahead warned us that we were approaching some monument worth attention, and suddenly we stepped out of the narrow gorge into the sunlight again. There in front of us, carved in the face of the cliff, half revealed, half concealed in the growing shadows, was one of the largest, most perfect, and most beautiful monuments of antiquity—Pharaoh's Treasury¹ (see Fig. 69). Almost as perfect as the day it came from beneath the sculptor's chisel, fifteen hundred or two thousand years ago, colored with the natural hues of the brilliant sandstone, which added an indescribable element to the architectural beauty; flanked and surmounted by the cliffs, which had been carved and tinted in turn by the powers of nature; approached by the mysterious defile—it was almost overpowering in its effect.

Descriptions of the width and height and the details of this monument of antiquity may enable many to reproduce for themselves some of its striking features; but neither language, measurements nor pictures can give more than a bald idea of the temple and its charming surroundings. The secret of its magic seems to be the culmination of man's best efforts with the powers and beauties of nature.

Located at the end of a long and difficult journey, whether one comes from the valley of the Euphrates, from Sinai, from Egypt, or from any point of Syria east or west of the Jordan; set in the mountains of mystery, at the gateway of the most original form of entrance to any city on our planet; carved with matchless skill, after the conception of some master mind; gathering the beauties of the stream, the peerless hues of the sandstone, the towering cliffs, the impassable ravine, the brilliant atmosphere, and the fragment of blue sky above—it must have been enduring in its effect upon the human mind. We saw it in its desolation, a thousand years after its owners had fled—tempest, flood and earthquake having done their worst,

¹ Now called by archæologists the "Temple of Isis."



Petra—Pharaoh's Treasury. Temple of Isis

Photo by Myers and Hoskins

aided by the puny hand of the wandering Arab, to mar and disfigure it—and we confess that its impression upon our hearts and memory is deathless.

To portray the marvelous coloring of these masses of sandstone and to give anything like a correct view of this unique feature of Petra is something we attempt with misgivings. From the moment we sighted the great castellated mass in which the city lies hidden until we took our last glimpse from the highlands above, we never ceased to wonder at the indescribable beauties of the purples, the yellows, the crimsons and the many hued combinations. Whether seen in the gloom of the Sik, or the brilliant sunshine, that seemed to kindle the craggy, bristling pinnacles into colored flames, they continued to inspire our surprise.

Travellers have vied with each other in their attempts to describe these beauties. After the solid colors of red, purple, blue, black, white and yellow, the never-ending combinations are best compared with watered silk or the plumage of certain birds.

We shall be listened to if we say with all soberness that “the half was never told” of the effect of this many hued landscape; for we saw it glistening with the rain-drops after the showers, we saw it before the sunrise, we saw it under the noonday sun, and we noticed, as perhaps no one had done before us, the way in which these ancient sculptors fixed the levels of their tombs, temples and dwellings so as to make most artistic use of the more beautiful strata in the mountain walls, and we marveled again and again, in the never-ending ravines, how these ancient dwellers consciously practiced a kind of landscape gardening; where, instead of beautiful effects produced by banks of fading flowers, all was carved from the many hued and easily wrought solid stone, which took on new beauties as it crumbled away.

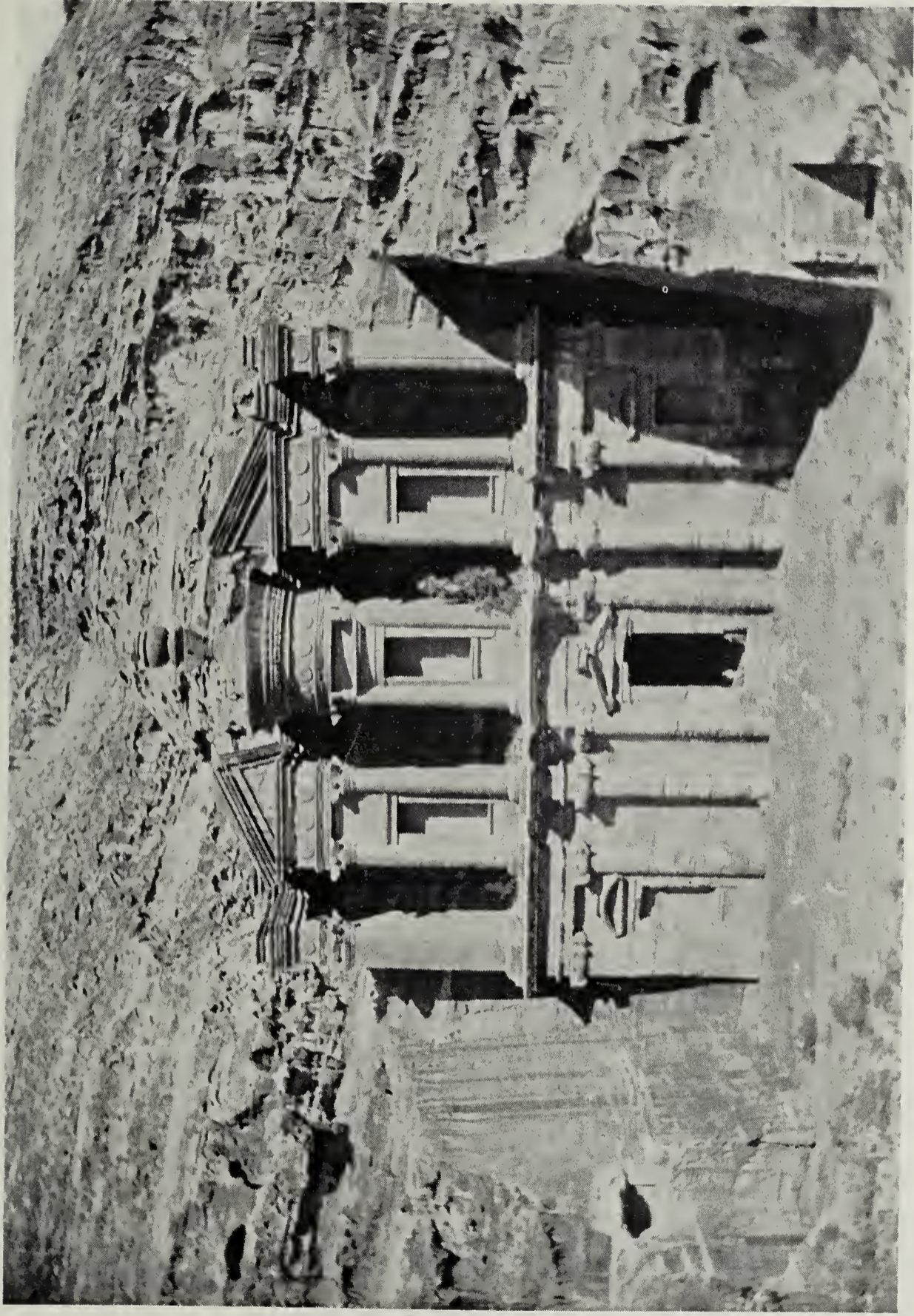
THE GREAT THEATER

Not far from Pharaoh's Treasury is a great theater in what may be called the Appian Way of the city. It stands among some of the finest tombs—a theater in the midst of sepulchers. The floor of the stage is 120 feet in diameter. Fully 5000 spectators could have found comfort in the thirty-three rows of seats. Here also the coloring of the sandstone is brilliant, and at certain places in the excavation the tiers of seats are literally red and purple alternately in the native rock. Shut in on nearly every side, these many colored seats filled with throngs of brilliantly dressed revelers, the rocks around and above crowded with the less fortunate denizens of the region, what a spectacle in this valley it must have been! What an effect it must have produced upon the weary traveller toiling in from the burning sands of the desert, along the shadows of the marvelous Sik, past the vision of the Treasury, and into the widening gorge that resounded with the shouts of the revelers, in the days of its ancient glory.

The eastern wall of the valley, near the entrance, rises to a height of more than 500 feet. For a length of 1000 feet the face of the cliff is carved and honeycombed with excavations to a height of 300 feet above the floor of the valley.

Here are found some of the most impressive ruins in the city. The Urn tomb in the center has in the rock behind it a room over 60 feet square, whose beautiful colored ceiling can be compared to a great storm in the heavens. The Corinthian tomb and temple are among the largest and most beautifully colored monuments in any of the walls.

The Deir (Fig. 70) is reached by one of the great ravines, up which winds a path and stairway until an elevation of 700 feet is attained. A small plateau opening toward the south gives an extended view of Mount Hor and all the southern end of the Dead Sea depression. The spot is



The Deir or Monastery. Notice the figures in the doorway, which is 30 feet high, and the single figure on the cupola, 100 feet above

Photo by Myers and Hoskins

wholly inaccessible except by the one rocky stairway and winding path.

The Deir is carved from the side of a mountain top, but not protected by any overhanging mass. It is larger than the Treasury, but not nearly so fine in coloring or design. It is impressive in its size and its surroundings, but cannot be called beautiful.

Finally, if you will remember that originally the whole valley, from its beginning at the door of the Sik until its exit among the fissures at the southern end of the Dead Sea, is one huge excavation made by the powers of nature, the torrent and the earthquake; and that the hand of time, the frost, the heat and the tempest have been busy through the ages cracking, smoothing, chiseling mountain top, deep ravine and towering cliff into a myriad of fantastic forms, and that the subtler, silent agencies of Nature's alchemy have been adding the most brilliant hues to mouldering sandstone strata, you cannot but be charmed and amazed at the result of her handiwork.

Then when you enter the city by the winding valley of the Sik, gaze at the stupendous walls of rock which close the valley and encircle this ancient habitation, and mark how man himself, but an imitator of Nature, has adorned the winding bases of these encircling walls with all the beauty of architecture and art—with temple, tomb and palace, column, portico and pediment—while the mountain summits present Nature in her wildest and most savage forms, the enchantment will be complete, and among the ineffaceable impressions of your soul will be the memories of this silent, beautiful "rose-red city half as old as time."

But the connection of Petra with the Exodus comes along a religious line. There can be little doubt that the site was occupied by the king of Edom, to whom Moses sent his messengers from Kadesh Barnea, and that not a few of the Children of Israel first or last had entered the ancient city and visited the famous "High Places"

which undoubtedly existed at that day, and which still existing to-day are in many respects *the* most interesting sight in Petra. The main High Place¹ is the most perfect specimen known to exist (Fig. 71), with its "mazzabah," its colossal stairway, its rock-cut court, the lavers, the block of sacrifice and the two rock-cut altars (Fig. 72). This spot has been visited by travellers since Petra had been rediscovered by Burckhardt in 1812, but its real significance was not appreciated until 1881, when several Biblical students (Curtis, Robinson and others) called attention to its ancient origin and meaning.

Professor Libbey and I had the great privilege of discovering a second "High Place" in Petra in March, 1902, and in 1905 Professor P. V. Myers and I located still a third, which we fully reported with measurements and illustrations to the *Biblical World* shortly after our return.

From the days of Abraham to those of Solomon the Bible makes many references to the worship on the high places. It was a natural and at first an innocent impulse which led men to resort to the hills for worship. There the worshippers were brought nearer to the heavens, and the separation of those retired eminences from the scenes of the usual routine of daily occupation suggested the idea of sacredness. Sinai, Hor, Nebo, Ebal and Gerizim, Ramah and Jerusalem play an important part in the history of the religious life of the Children of Israel. The literature of other nations, and their attempts to build in the low-lying plain structures that would imitate the mountain heights, bear testimony to the same impulse and instinct.

Leaving the fuller discussion of the more recondite questions as to how far the Israelites were influenced by the example of the Egyptians at Serabît, the Moabites and the Canaanites to wider and later study, we may point out briefly some of the matters that come into prominence. That these spots were for worship, and not for ceremonies con-

¹ See "J. V. and P.," Vol. II, p. 171.



Petra, High Place, "Mazzabah"—Place of Sacrifice to the right

Photo by Libbey and Hoskins

nected with the burial of the dead alone, is evidenced by the elevated location of the main High Place in Petra, and the absence of tombs anywhere within hundreds of yards of it. That the worship included the element of sacrifice is proved by the accessories of all such well-preserved locations. That they reproduce in a striking manner the main features of Israel's tabernacle—the sanctuary, the court, the lavers, the altars, etc.—is undeniable. Now, whether the Israelites borrowed from the Moabites, or the Moabites from the Israelites, or both from another source, is, of course, an interesting question, but one of the plainest and most valuable inferences lies on the surface, and is this: these high places bear the strongest testimony, along with older references in literature, to the great age of the idea and practice of sacrifice, pushing it back into the earliest periods. Whether it was animal or human, or both, will perhaps some day be known more fully.

In the reign of Solomon we are suddenly confronted by an unusual development of the worship on high places. It was one of the sins of this great king that he burnt sacrifices on so many of these high altars. His foreign wives induced him to build high places for "Ashtoreth, the abomination of the Zidonians; for Chemosh, the abomination of the Moabites, and for Milcom, the abomination of the Children of Ammon" (1 Kings 11: 17; 2 Kings 23: 13). In spite of the construction of the Temple, this idolatrous worship introduced from foreign nations, and the *worship of Jehovah* on high places went on increasing for many years. The conflict between the two is suggested in Solomon's days. Elijah complains that the altars of God are thrown down and neglected, and he himself burns incense on the reconstructed altar on Mount Carmel. This conflict grew sharper in the day of Asa and the kings who followed him, until the impression is sharply defined that all the worship on these high places was idolatrous and hence illegitimate. Then followed the centralizing of worship and sac-

rifice at the one altar in Jerusalem, and the warfare waged against all the high places in the Holy Land. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The ritual and worship at these myriad local altars, after Solomon's accession, degenerated from the older and simpler standard, and their heathen practices had been introduced into the city of Jerusalem itself. Any reform in Jerusalem must needs have issued in a warfare against all local shrines. Hence the interesting fact, that to find the mazzeba and other accessories of this worship on high places we must go to Edom and other portions of Syria, which lay beyond the sphere of the Jewish kingdom's influence and control. And here in Petra are certainly the most perfect specimens of these interesting remains of the centuries before the monarchy and perhaps the Exodus.



Petra, High Place—Sacrificial Block and Two Altars

Photo by Libbey and Hoskins

CHAPTER XXXI

KADESH BARNEA, MOUNT HOR, EDOM AND MOAB

ROBINSON and other scholars thought the Children of Israel might have reached Kadesh Barnea by way of Arabah from Ezion Geber, but I am much more inclined to think that they may have gone up *via* Wady el Ain or even Wady Taba and that they came down the Arabah thirty-seven years later. The main reason for this is an intelligible one. They failed to enter the Promised Land by way of Hormah, which probably corresponds to the location Sebaita, in the western extremity of the "desert of the wandering." They afterward found the whole Nigeb or "South Country" barred against their passage, and it was perfectly natural for them to look toward the Arabah and "by the Coast of Edom." Hence, when the people were all assembled at Kadesh for the final march, "Moses sent messengers from Kadesh" unto the king of Edom "seeking for a passage through his territory "by the King's highway," again suggesting the existence of well-known roads even through the country *east* of the Jordan. The salt morasses and the rugged shores of the western side of the Dead Sea offered no way of escape directly into the Jordan Valley. The cliffs of Moab on the east are absolutely impassable to the present day to any living creature, hence the only route was down and across the Arabah into Edom, and the messengers went in advance of the great host. Perhaps even before the surly, churlish answer came back the host moved down the great natural roadway from Kadesh and encamped before Mount Hor, undecided as to which of the great passes they would take through Edom. This route, viewed from the geographical point of view, is the most natural one possible.

I have viewed and reviewed every argument advanced *for* the "Jebel Madurah site of Mt. Hor," and every argument *against* the traditional site, and am completely confirmed in favor of Jebel Haroun, the traditional Mount Hor. Whatever may have been the "sphere of influence" claimed or held by Edom at the time of the Exodus or later, the natural western boundary of Edom must always have been the Arabah and Mount Hor "by the border of the land of Edom" (Num. 20: 23), and fits the documents as the key fits the lock, which is by no means true of any other location. If, as we believe, Edom's capital city, Petra, was then occupied by its king, dukes and people, there is abundant reason to believe that communication existed between the Children of Israel at Kadesh and Edom during the years of the "wandering," and the descent of the Children of Israel from Kadesh down to the Arabah would not have given any more anxiety than is actually revealed in the churlish answer of Edom's king. For the Children of Israel had now left the country of foreign enemies and had come into contact with their own blood relations, even though they were decidedly unfriendly.

This region of Edom comes into history as Mount Seir in the days of Chedorlaomer and Abraham. It then embraced the mountainous district from the Dead Sea, south of the Zered (Ahsa), to the east arm of the Red Sea; it was bounded on the east by the desert and on the west by the deep valley of the Arabah. Its principal peak was Jebel Neby Haroun, known as Mount Hor, which bears the ancient name of the region to the present day. It was the home of the Horites, who emerge at the dawn of human history. It has been supposed that the name "Horites" means "cave-dwellers," but it may also signify "the white race." Professor Maspero identifies it with Khar, the Egyptian name for Southern Palestine.

Some time after Jacob had fled to Paddan-aram from the anger of his brother, Esau left Isaac, his father, and made his



Aaron's Tomb on Mt. Hor

Photo by Libbey and Hoskins

home in Mount Seir. Eventually his descendants dispossessed¹ the Horites of Mount Seir, gaining possession of the country both by war and by marriage with the inhabitants, and the result of intermarriage was the mixed race known as the Edomites. Their kings reigned in the land of Edom at the time when the Children of Israel were in Egypt. When the Hebrews at length escaped from Egypt and reached the borders of Edom they found that the fierce fires of Esau's anger still burned in the hearts of his descendants, and neither the king nor the people of Edom would listen to their request for permission to pass through Edom on their way to the Promised Land, although they offered to pay for both food and water which they might consume (Deut. 11: 4-8) as they passed through. In order not to wage war with a kindred people the Children of Israel turned back from the borders of Edom and marched southward through the desert down the Arabah, between the cliffs of the Tih on the west and the range of Edom on the east, until they reached the Red Sea, when they turned to the left. They rounded the southern end of the mountains of Edom and then marched north along the eastern border of Edom toward Moab.

This churlish refusal of the Edomites was never forgotten by the Israelites; though the Edomites were regarded as brethren by the law and were allowed certain privileges beyond some other nations, the hostility of the two peoples to each other disfigures all their mutual relations until the Edomites disappear for ever from history. The Edomites were conquered by David (2 Sam. 8: 14), Jehoshaphat and Amaziah (2 Chron. 25: 11). In the time of Ahaz, when Pekah and Rezin made war against Judah, the Edomites invaded the land and carried off captives, and a century and a half later, when Nebuchadnezzar (587 B. C.) besieged Jerusalem, the Edomites joined in taking and sacking the city, and appropriated a portion of its territory.

¹ Deut. 11: 12.

Israel's prophets never spared Edom; Joel predicts its desolation, Amos denounces judgment upon it, but foretells the ultimate incorporation of the remnant of Edom with Israel. Jeremiah makes it the subject of one of his minatory poems. Obadiah speaks of little else but the cruelty of Edom to Israel and the certainty that the Edomites will be destroyed in spite of their rocky fastnesses, their numerous allies and their far-famed wisdom. Ezekiel declares the vengeance of Jehovah that awaits it, and Malachi pronounces that its overthrow is to be perpetual.

The region of Mount Hor is "paved with the good intentions" of travellers unfulfilled. Burckhardt (1811) struggled hard to ascend Mount Hor, but was obliged to halt on the little plain half-way up, without reaching the top. Neither Laborde (1827) nor Robinson (1838) was allowed to make the attempt. Many other parties since their day have seen the white tomb on its summit from afar, and sadly against their will have turned away from it for ever. But since the roads have become better known, and travellers have been able to dispense with native guides, the ascent has been made by a number who have left some records of their experiences.

I have had the privilege of climbing Mount Hor at three different times and of enjoying the superb views from its lofty summit. The difficulties are not physical, but arise from the jealousy, cupidity and superstitions of the people, who claim the shrine and guard its approaches. The Bedawin who roam over the land of Edom have been described by travellers as the worst of their race. Pococke speaks of the Arabs about Akaba and the Arabah as bad people. He calls them notorious robbers, who are always at war with all others. Joliffe alludes to the district as one of the wildest divisions of Arabia. Burckhardt says that in this region he felt fear for the first and only time during his travels in the desert, and that this route was the most dangerous he ever travelled. He had nothing with



Tafleleh from the South

Photo by Libbey and Hoskins

him that ought to have attracted the notice of the Bedawin or have excited their cupidity, and yet they even stripped him of some rags that covered his wounded ankles. Leigh, Banks, Irby and Mangles (1818) were told that the Arabs of Wady Musa were a most savage and treacherous race, murdering pilgrims from Barbary, and acting toward all comers as the Edomites did toward the Israelites when they refused them passage through this country on the way to the Promised Land. It is a mystery why this ancient, world-old churlishness should appear in the modern dwellers, but so it is. They seem to have drawn it from the soil or to have absorbed it from the fountains. But whatever its explanation, here it is, three thousand years and more since Moses was rebuffed.

Aaron's tomb on Mount Hor is now a Moslem shrine. Like Moses' tomb, below Nebo, it has been coveted and fought for by Christians, and more especially by Jews, whose reverence for both these Israelite heroes is well known to the Moslems. It will be woe to the poor Jew, for many years to come, who is found within twenty-five miles of that sacred spot on Hor.

Another element entering into the situation is the deeply rooted superstition connected with the tomb, according to which the people firmly believe that evil will surely befall, before the year is out, the wretched man who commits the sacrilege of aiding or guiding any stranger to the sacred spot at the top of the mount. It is true that their cupidity, now and then, overcomes their fears, but the deep-rooted superstition and the dread of evil raise the price demanded. As late as 1883 the party made up of Kitchener, Armstrong and Hull paid £34 (\$170) for the privilege of one day to visit Mount Hor, and afterward passing through Petra. Ordinarily the amount of bakshish depends upon the number of men who get wind of the strangers' coming, and who reach the spot in time to claim a share. It is then "many men, many money." When

their superstitions and cupidity have not availed, they have often thwarted parties by threatening to plunder their camp or caravans while the owners were climbing the mountain, and a party strong enough to hold its own while united, dared not subdivide itself and become an easy prey to the unscrupulous people.

During my various visits I found that no matter how willing the Arabs about Petra were to serve us in camp, they would not act as guides up Mount Hor. At my first visit with Professor Libbey a certain Musa begged off from having anything to do with the ascent. He afterward compromised with his conscience and promised to meet us on top if we ever reached there. He kept his promise and appeared on the summit, but we never learned how he placated the "Neby" or the villagers, who would have killed him had they seen him.

Travellers coming from Hebron or the south speak of Mount Hor as the highest mountain in sight along the route. Its mass of reddish sandstone and conglomerate "rises in a precipitous wall of natural masonry, tier above tier, with its face to the west. The base of the cliff of sandstone rests upon a solid ridge of granite and porphyry, and the summit of the sandstone is somewhat in the form of a rude pyramid." "No more grand monument could be erected to the memory of a man honored by God, than that which Nature has here reared up. For amidst this region of natural pyramids Jebel Haroun towers supreme. . . . Jehovah passing sentence of premature death upon His servant, for a public act of disobedience, left him not to die without honor, and for ever after the most conspicuous peak in all this country has been inseparably connected with his name and stands a monument to his memory."¹

The appearance of the white-domed tomb on the summit (Fig. 73) reminds one strongly of the similar rude buildings on the top of Jebel Musa at Sinai. The views,

¹ Hull (1883).



Ahsa Canyon, the Brook Zered

Photo by Libbey and Hoskins

beginning with the southern end of the Dead Sea, easily rival in sublime desolation the wildness of the region about Sinai. The district westward is a mass of twisted strata, impassable gorges, bottomless ravines, to the plain and desert of the Arabah, which was visible for fifty miles of its extent south of the Dead Sea. Northward lies the great Petra mass and higher plateau of Edom, and eastward great billowy masses of mountains bare and about naked of trees and verdure, only the fantastic shapes into which the mountains are weathered and the subdued glow of their coloring redeeming them from utter desolation. So that while there is a "scarcity of marked features" compared with other views in Sinai and the Holy Land, it still remains true that the outlook from Mount Hor is one of the grandest conceivable over a waste of mountain solitude and the chasm of the Dead Sea. Our barometers in 1902 registered 4600 feet;¹ adding to this 1290 feet we have a depth of 5890 feet to the waters of the Dead Sea.

FOURTH SECTION OF THE ROUTE

After the death and burial of Aaron at Mount Hor the Children of Israel made their way down the Arabah (Deut. 2: 8) and began their last march toward the Promised Land. Having crossed the great depression below the Dead Sea, they once again climbed through winding valleys to the desert plateau and over heights rivalling the elevations about Sinai. They journeyed many miles along the breezy plateaus of Edom and Moab at heights between 3500 and 5000 feet. Generally speaking, the greatest heights were reached about Edom, and neglecting for a moment the great rift at the Brook Zered and the Arnon, the plateaus slope gently down to the plains of Moab to some 2500 to 2800 feet at Madeba.²

¹ The height given by Kitchener in 1883 is 4580 feet, as determined by triangulation.

² See "J. V. and P.," Vol. I, p. 33.

The line of march is known from many of the names which remain until this present day. Zalmonah, Punon, Oboth (Num. 33: 41, 42 and 21: 10) are lost because they seem to have been the names of camps or localities of the "dukes of Edom" who correspond to our modern Arab Emirs. Iye-Aberim, "the fountains of the regions beyond," would apply to many a series of fountains in that land. Tophel (Deut. 1: 1) has been found in the modern Tafiheh, of which a photograph is given in Figure 74. It is a great well-watered amphitheater two days beyond Petra, with splendid groves of olive trees. The "brook Zared (Zered)," the "brook of the willows," in Isaiah 15: 7, and the "river of the wilderness," in Amos 6: 14, is, without doubt, Wady el Ahsa. (See Fig. 75 for a glimpse of this valley, which afterward became the southern boundary of Moab.)

The brooks of Arnon, the modern Mujib, is one of the finest canyons in the world, and the view of Figure 76 shows the plural character of the great trough toward the east. Somewhere in that vicinity the Children of Israel crossed, and, after passing through Beer, Bamoth, Jahaz and Azoer, came to Dibon (Joshua 13: 17), which name clings to a ruin (Fig. 78) to this present hour. These ruins have been made for ever famous by the discovery of the Moabite stone. After Dibon they came into the plains of Moab around Madeba, which whole country is redolent with the memories of Moses.¹

Moab² is mentioned once in Genesis and again in the Song of Moses (Exodus 15: 15), but its history begins in the

¹ Those who wish to study more fully the present condition of Edom and Petra, Moab and Madeba, the country in which lies the fourth and last section of the Route of the Exodus, will find eight or ten fully illustrated chapters in the two volumes, "The Jordan Valley and Petra," which the author of this volume wrote in collaboration with Professor Libbey of Princeton, and from which several of the accompanying photographs are reproduced.

² Moab was explored by Seetzen in 1808; Burckhardt, 1812; De Saulcy, 1853; Tristram, 1873; and Condor, 1885.



The Valleys of Arnon looking East

Photo by Libbey and Hoskins

third part of the book of Numbers, chapters 21 to 36. The events of these last fifteen chapters, and those of all the book of Deuteronomy, took place in the plains of Moab. The wanderings ended when the Children of Israel crossed the Brook Zered (Num. 21 : 11-13), but several months elapsed¹ before they crossed the Jordan, and all the events of this period, except the campaign against Og, King of Bashan, took place in the plains and land of Moab. The episodes mentioned extend from the end of the wanderings to the beginning of the conquest of the Promised Land, west of the Jordan. After Sihon, King of the Amorites, and Og, King of Bashan, were overcome, Balak, King of Moab, made vain use of enchantments against Israel. He called for Balaam, son of Beor, to come and curse "this people, for they are too mighty for me," but, instead of malediction, he heard from Balaam the glorious future of Israel (Numbers 22-24).

Here occurred also that sad lapse of the Israelites into idolatry (Numbers 25) at Shittim, and their entangling defilements with the Moabites whom they had conquered. Here also took place the second numbering of the people (Num. 26) after the ravages of the plague, the appointment of Joshua as successor of Moses (Num. 27), and the allocation to two and a half tribes of territory east of the Jordan (Num. 32). Here Moses gave directions concerning the partition of the land west of the Jordan among the remaining tribes, and appointed the cities of refuge (Num. 35: 10-34). Here, also, in the plains of Moab, Moses delivered all the final commands of the book of Deuteronomy, and after his farewell address, on the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year, ascended Nebo for the last time and died. Thus in the land of Moab ends the Exodus and the wanderings, Joshua takes command, Moses dies, the Pentateuch closes and the conquest of the Holy Land begins.

¹ Numbers 33: 44-48 mentions five encampments between the east and the west borders of Moab.

The land in its present desolation, its insecurity, its lawlessness and its mournful ruins, is an open commentary, lighting up with electric flash the heavy pall of denunciations heaped by the prophets upon the lands of Moab and Edom (Figs. 79, 80, 81). For Moab is mentioned one hundred and fifty-eight times in the Old Testament, thirty of these references occurring in one chapter in Jeremiah (chap. 48), where the fate of the land and its people is the bitterest meted out to any of Israel's enemies. Moab's "cities shall become a desolation without any to dwell therein, and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from (Moab's) blood." The one gleam of sunlight over its breezy plains is the idyllic story of Ruth, the Moabitess, grandmother to King David, and in the line of "the generations of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham."



Descent into Arnon Canyon

Photo by Libbey and Hoskins

CHAPTER XXXII

MADEBA, MOSES, AND THE MOSAIC MAP

TWENTY-FIVE years ago Madeba was still a desert mound, lost in the Moab plateau. The Adwan Arabs, mentioned so often by travellers, pitched their tents and pastured their flocks about the mound and in the floor of the ancient pool, without knowing or caring that the ruins of a once flourishing city lay beneath their feet. But in 1880 some Christians from Kerak, weary of being trampled upon by the more powerful tribes and clans, in their never-ending blood feuds and pillage, resolved to quit that city and found a new colony about the mound of ancient Madeba. In turning over the soil, preparatory to erecting their rude dwellings, they came upon extensive remains of cut stone, broken pillars, ruined cisterns and fragments of ancient pavements in mosaic. Tristram, who visited the mound in 1873 before the place contained any settled inhabitants, said: "I have seen no place in the country where excavations seem more likely to yield good results," and the results have abundantly justified his expectations. For during the course of twenty-five years these modern builders have uncovered perhaps a dozen Christian churches and basilicas. Almost every ruin has yielded inscriptions which are, strangely enough, all found in the mosaic pavements of these places of Christian worship. Among the larger Byzantine inscriptions is one referring to a basilica dedicated to the Virgin. And in the floor of a small ancient church is the following injunction: "In gazing upon the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and upon Him whom she brought forth, Christ, the Sovereign King, only

Son of God, be thou pure in mind and flesh and deeds, in order that thou mayest, by thy pure prayers, find God Himself merciful."

When the Kerak people settled on the mound, the Latins seized a most commanding site and built a modest church and school, which now boasts a small clock-tower. Other settlers came from the surrounding country, until there were several thousand people gathered together. Then the government, some fifteen years ago, made it a government center and built a small serai on the ruins of a church. The Greek orthodox people, in looking for a site, seized upon the ruins of an old basilica to the northwest of the mound, and here has been made the second great discovery beyond the Jordan, if we give the first place to the Moabite Stone. The site is in a little saddle, where the roads fork toward the Jordan and Jerash, and all around are fragments of mosaic pavements, which once drained their rainfall into huge cisterns, now the largest and cleanest in Madeba. Among these neglected fragments of ancient pavements was found the precious mosaic map of the fifth century.

It is now known that in 1884 a Greek monk living east of the Jordan wrote a letter to the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, telling him of a mosaic pavement at Madeba covered with names of cities, such as Jerusalem, Gaza, Nicopolis, Neapolis, etc. The Patriarch Nicodemus made no answer, but after he was exiled and Gerasimos put in his place, the new Patriarch found the letter of the Madeba monk six years after it was written, that is, in 1890. Gerasimos, guessing that this was an important archæological discovery, sent a master mason with orders that if the mosaic was a fine one to include it in the church which was to be built at Madeba for the use of the Greek population. The mosaic was at that time almost complete, and, by the testimony of those who saw it, contained the names of Smyrna and other towns as far away. But the stupid builder, in



Diban, where the Moabite Stone was found

Photo by Libbey and Hoskins

his great desire to build on the ancient foundations, destroyed the greater part of it, and drove a pilaster right through the priceless piece that he did not completely destroy. After the mischief was done, and the greater part of the relic lost for ever, he went back to Jerusalem and reported that the mosaic did not possess the importance which had been attributed to it.

It was not until December, 1896, that Father Cleopas, the librarian of the Greek Patriarchate, went to spend a few days at Jericho. His Patriarch Gerasimos, still uneasy about the matter, urged him to push on as far as Madeba. When he returned in January, 1897, it was with notes and sketches which proved a surprise and a delight to the archæological world. Then—alas, it was almost too late!—measures were taken to preserve the mutilated fragments, and draughtsmen, photographers and archæologists all hastened to the rescue. Our photograph (Fig. 84) shows what remains of the map and the iron fence now protecting it. Thus, to the Greek monk, to Father Cleopas and the Greek Patriarch belong the honor of having saved the fragment of this unique map of the early Christian centuries.

The large church (Fig. 83) which was built over the map cost 1500 Turkish pounds, and bears on its front a terracotta medallion, the same as the one noticed at Remamin, bearing witness to the fact that much of the money came from Russia.

The map originally occupied the whole width of the church, which was about 50 feet long and from 20 to 22 feet from side to side. It was drawn from east to west, and not from north to south, as is the case in maps of to-day. The point occupied by Madeba which, alas, has disappeared, would have been located near the center of the present nave, in front of the main door of the church. All the northern part of the map is lost forever, except two small and unimportant pieces. The part which remains,

and in which there are also various breaks, embraces the country from Nablous to the mouth of the Nile. The orientation of the map is not exact. They took as a base the line of the seashore on the Mediterranean, and as this line runs from southwest to northeast, it follows that the axis of the map, which corresponds with the axis of the church, extended from Jaffa to Madeba, and consequently inclined visibly to the south.

One cannot expect in this map either the mathematical precision or the multiplicity of details which are the merit of modern maps. It is rather a rude sketch designed to illustrate biblical history. Decorative art occupies a large place. Objects and names are traced in proportions which do not conform to any exact scale, and the perspective is wholly conventional, but it supplies a number of new identifications. The mountains are drawn with a combination of lines and colors which do not fail to produce on the eye the effect desired. The Dead Sea is a wavy expanse of blue, enlivened by two ships of impossible proportions, but altogether picturesque. On the Jordan one sees a ferry-boat, whose mast slides along a boom extending from bank to bank, while gigantic fishes play in the waters. In the desert palms mark the oases and the lion pursues the gazelle.

In the larger cities, such as Jerusalem, the location of the principal streets is indicated by marking them with colonnades, and the façades of the main buildings are drawn to show the general aspect, some rounded and some pointed.

The smaller cities are drawn in silhouette, with their walls, battlements and principal gates. Unfortunately, most of the larger cities are badly damaged, only Jerusalem remaining in its entirety. The map contains the names of about one hundred and thirty ancient places, some of which are new to history. The geographical names are all written above their cities, and some explanatory inscriptions are given below them.



In the Land of Moab

1. What Travelers Do.
2. What a few People do.
3. What most of the People are Doing

One of the merits of the map, unique of its kind, is the wealth of explanations. In the first place the fragment embraces, in whole or in part, the territory of the tribes of Simeon, Judah, Dan, Benjamin and Ephraim. The name of each tribe is inscribed in large red letters, and is accompanied by an explanatory text taken from the Bible. In this way parts of Jacob's blessings are worked into the design, as Zebulon has Genesis 49: 13; Ephraim, Genesis 49: 25, and parts also of the blessing of Moses. Benjamin has Deuteronomy 33: 12 written beneath it, and Ephraim has Deuteronomy 33: 13. These inscriptions will no doubt have some value in the department of sacred criticism of the Bible. Other explanations are taken literally from the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius. At certain points of the map these inscriptions occupy the whole of the surface, interfering somewhat with its clearness, but no doubt serving an important purpose in the eyes of its makers. In many cases the localities are designated by two names, the ancient name and also the name in use at the era of the map. The arms of the Nile have their names written either in the streams themselves or by the sides of them.

The exact date of the map is a question which will no doubt be solved satisfactorily, but from the form of the letters it certainly seems to have been made before the beginning of the sixth century. Among the places pictured is the Monastery of Saint Sapsas, on the east bank of the Jordan, and contemporaneous documents and references to this are dated 494 to 518. Hence we may safely call it a map of the fifth century A. D.

As to the origin and purpose of this unique map, Mr. Clermont Ganneau (P. E. F., July, 1901) suggests that it may be a copy of the "picture" which St. Jerome speaks of as being found in his *Onomasticon*. Then, lacking further information, he calls in imagination and makes a brilliant suggestion, which by its peculiar fitness carries almost the weight of written testimony. "What," he says, "was the

origin of this extraordinary work? What is its object? To what need or preconceived notion does it correspond? What was the idea of fixing thus upon the pavement of the basilica at Madeba a representation of the Holy Land as faithful and as detailed as the means of that period permitted.

“What it is necessary to consider before all is the position of Madeba. I am struck by one fact; it is that Madeba is situated close to Mount Nebo; it was in the Byzantine Period the most important town which stood in those regions, where the great memory of Moses still lingered. It was in the immediate neighborhood that the leader of Israel received from Jehovah the order to climb the summit of Pisgah where he was to die, and to contemplate in one supreme vision in all its extent this land of Canaan, the Land of Promise, which was to belong to his people, but which he was not himself allowed to enter. (See Genesis 32: 41-52, 34: 1-8; compare Numbers 27: 12, 13.) Might it not be, perhaps, this geographical picture which was virtually unrolled under the eyes of Moses, that it was intended to reproduce in the mosaic of the basilica of Madeba. That is to say, in the neighboring town to this memorable scene. Why should they not have had the idea of showing in a realistic way the thing itself that Moses saw, quite close to, if not at the place itself, where he saw it? Nothing was at the time more tempting or more logical.”



Madeba, General View—Great Pool in Foreground

Photo by Libbey and Hoskins

CHAPTER XXXIII

NEBO

THE modern identification of Nebo has been long delayed, but may now be reckoned as complete. The data for the purpose are a constantly increasing collection of facts resulting from a more careful study of the Bible narratives in the light of explorations of the vicinity, with corroborative and explanatory materials from other lands and sources.

In the first place, Nebo is not a "mountain," in the ordinary sense of that word. When one looks from Jerusalem or the highlands of Judea eastward beyond the Jordan, nothing in the shape of a peak or mountain breaks the long sky-line of the Moab plateau. And even when one journeys from the east or south over that plateau, he rises almost insensibly from the desert until he gains the highest ridges, from which he catches glimpses of the highlands of Judea, without so much as a suggestion of the deep valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea between. But a few miles beyond the ridges the plateau breaks up into promontories or headlands slightly lower than itself, which extend far out into the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea region, affording superb views of the valley and sea and all Western Palestine beyond. Between the dotted line representing sea-level and the waving line of Moab plateau is an elevation of 2000 feet, and between the dotted line and the Dead Sea a depression of 1292 feet, so that seen from Jericho or the Jordan Valley or the Dead Sea, rising almost sheer in places for 3000 feet, these are really mountains. Seen from above, they are extensions of the Moab plateau.

The name "Nebo," found only twice in the Scriptures (Deut. 32: 49, 34: 1) as referring to the mountain, is now by common consent connected with a heathen god of the Assyrians, whose worship had been extended into this East-Jordan land before the coming of the Children of Israel. Nebo, with Baal and Peor, other heathen deities, all had altars and shrines on these promontories, reaching out from the Moab plateau into the Jordan Valley. Now, these names were lost or confused many centuries ago, and it seemed as though this was another case of the providential obliteration of the name and exact location of a much-sought site; but in recent years the very name itself, "Neba," has been found clinging to a knoll on the promontory already chosen for many other reasons as the real "Mount Nebo."

Five miles southwest of Heshbon, and less than that distance northwest of Madeba, the ridge or promontory identified as Nebo juts from the plateau with a width of more than half a mile, and extends fully two miles westward toward Jericho. The views westward, northward and southward are superb. Two knolls attract one's gaze and invite the seeker to their summits. The eastern one, near the base of the promontory, gives a backward view over Moab, and to this still clings the name "Neba." The height is given as 2643 feet above the Mediterranean, that is, about 3500 feet above the Jordan in front of it. The western one, more than a mile farther out and perhaps 200 feet lower, gives the finer view of all the Jordan Valley and the land of "Canaan" beyond. This is, no doubt, "Pisgah," as seen from the valley below.

The "two views" from Nebo, that of Balak (Num. 23: 14-16) and that of Moses (Deut. 34: 1-4), are as accurately described as any modern guide-book could describe them. The natural features are, of course, absolutely unchanged, except in the names and unidentified localities. The "view" has been the charm for pilgrims and travellers of



Madaba—Greek Church covering remains of famous Mosaic Map

Photo by Libbey and Hoskins

all past ages, as curiously evidenced by the mosaic map in the Madeba church. It will continue to delight for all time to come.

NEBO VIEW

Not by any means does one obtain the finest view from the highest knoll or crest. At least three levels lead out to rounded brows, and on the lowest (2360 feet) of them all, extending like a balcony out from the mountain side, do we find the spot where the Dead Sea and the South Country, "the hills and mountains of Judea, Jericho and the whole Jordan Valley, northward, as the gaze swings through the panorama." While backward and behind one gets little but the higher summit of Nebo, which cuts off the sweep of the Moabite horizon from Heshbon eastward and southward.

Two-thirds of the Dead Sea stretches its azure sheet southward, and through a break in the western mountains we do get a glimpse into the hazy depths of the "South Country," just beyond which, all invisible, lies the "Desert of the Wandering." Then one who knows the map of the West-Jordan country easily marks the line where the hill country of Judah lifts its darker, greener mass this side the wilderness, and as the nearer features more clearly distinguish themselves, can pick out the hills overlooking Hebron and the never-to-be-mistaken flat crest of the Frank Mountain. Beyond that the eye rests fondly on little Bethlehem, sitting on the upper edge of its amphitheater in the hill side, its terraced gardens and mass of green bringing pleasure to the eye wearied with the awful desolation and grandeur of the slopes and mountains encircling the Dead Sea.

Bright spots of dwellings dot the upper range between Bethlehem and the Holy City, among them Beit Jala and the Monastery of Mar Elias. Then with no background but the white sky the spires of Jerusalem stand out plainer than ever with the Russian bell-tower above them all. One

of the minarets marks the mosque of the Tomb of David on Mount Zion, around which cluster the Dome of the Rock and all the other famous sights of the city. Farther north, hills blend in blueness that lie not far from Nazareth and look down on the Sea of Galilee. Yonder is "this mountain" that our Lord glanced up to from Jacob's Well, where he taught the Samaritan woman and the world, the lesson of worshipping the Father in spirit and in truth. Between us and the western hills winds the Jordan of His baptism, and, unconsciously, the view that Moses saw melts for us into the land of that "greater than Moses," because perhaps from no other point can so many of the footsteps of the Master be traced, or so many scenes of His life be brought together, as in a single picture—Bethlehem, the Jordan, Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives carry us from His cradle to His throne. And there on that same Mount of Olives is where Russia, Austria, Germany and other Christian nations of the West are still striving for the possession of the Promised Land, while the real owners, Moses' own people, of whom and for whom Christ came and died, are scattered over the face of the earth.

The Bible itinerary (Num. 21: 18-20, 33: 44-47) mentions five encampments between the east and west boundaries of Moab. It is the last two of this series which are the important ones for us. Numbers 33: 47 says they "encamped in the mountains of Abarim, before Nebo," and 21: 20 says they journeyed "from Bamoth to the valley that is in the field of Moab to the top of Pisgah, which looketh down upon the desert" (or Jeshimon). Now, scholars have noted the infelicity of the translation of the latter verse: "to the valley . . . to the top of Pisgah," and have given as more correct (G. A. Smith), "to the glen that is in the field of Moab by the headland of Pisgah, which looketh out on Jeshimon." Just "before Nebo," that is, *to the north*, for the Children of Israel are journeying from the south, and in "the valley," or "glen," down which



Madaba—Remains of the famous Mosaic Map

the roads to the Jordan have run from all antiquity to the present day, are the well-known fountains, still called the "Fountains of Moses." This was where they *must* have halted, and not on the "top of Pisgah." One more journey and they "encamped in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho." This makes every Bible reference to the "mountain" perfectly plain, and, with our most recent knowledge of the locality, settles the question forever.

Alas, the vicissitudes of time! Nebo stands changeless as it was when Moses climbed its famous headland, and is to-day as inseparably connected with his name as it has been for more than thirty centuries, but its exact location was lost to Christian view for at least twelve centuries. Madeba, a city under its changeless name in the earliest notices of Moab, existed through two thousand years of Moabite, Maccabee and Christian history, was sacked and destroyed at the time of the destructive march of Chosroes, the Persian, early in the seventh century, and disappeared from the face of the earth. For over twelve hundred years it has lain undisturbed, uninhabited, in the desolation of Moab. Only yesterday (1880) was it reoccupied and dug up from the dust of ages, to yield, among other treasures, this unique monument to the memory of Moses. Of all the nationalities and religions that have contended for the mastery of the plateau, only the Jewish, the Christian and the Moslem remain. But all three revere the memory of Moses, and every pilgrim of the future centuries—Jew, Christian and Moslem—visiting the land of Moab, to stand again in fancy with Moses on Nebo's brow, will gladly journey from map to mountain, and link the present to the remoter past through this Christian tribute to his memory.

Moses on Nebo thus becomes one of the colossal figures of human history. The man and the mount seem lifted out of space and time into the realm of thought, where they constitute, like Psalm 51, one of the shrines of the human

soul. A life of matchless service, one sin remembered, a distant view of what might have been, a lonely death, an unknown grave and heaven.

THE BURIAL OF MOSES

BY MRS. C. F. ALEXANDER

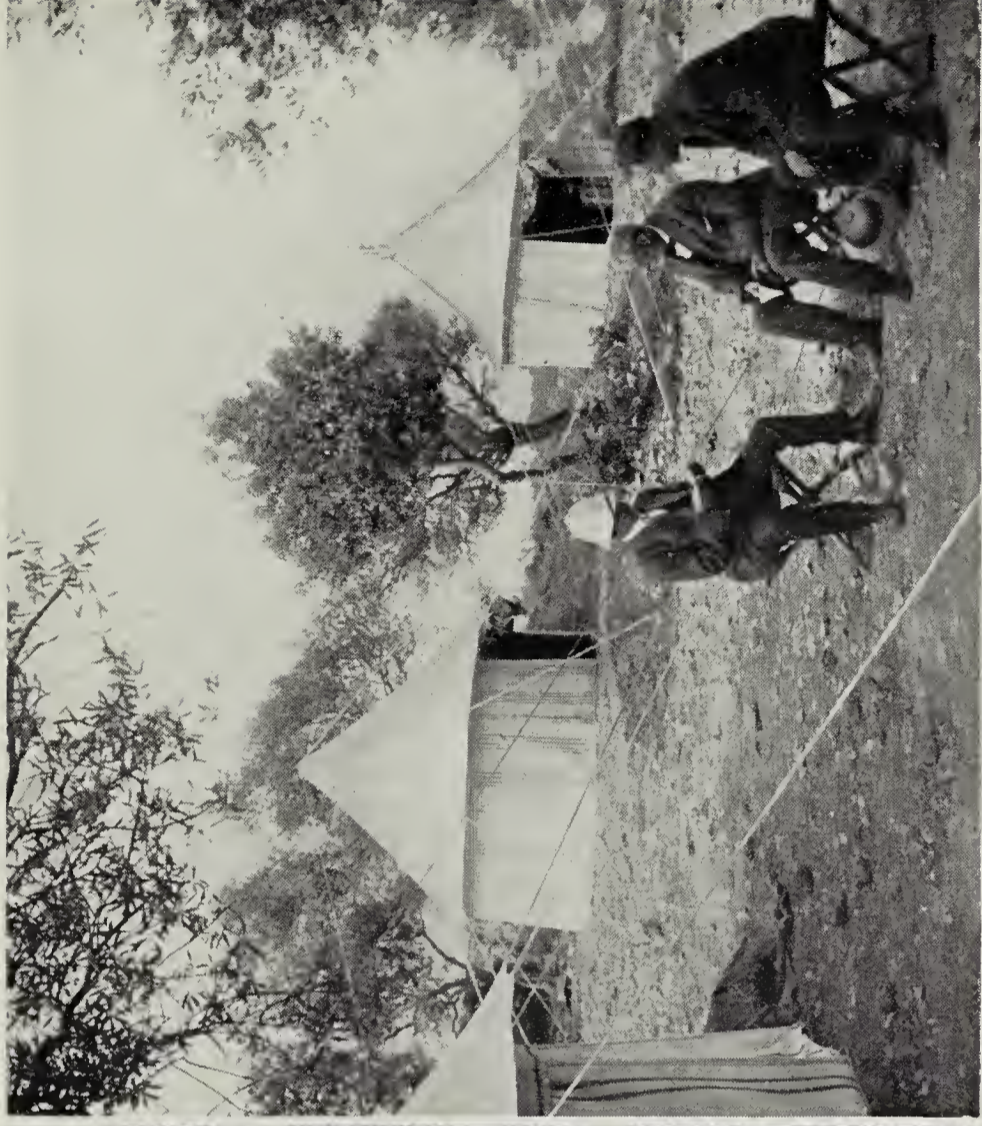
By Nebo's lonely mountain,
 On this side Jordan's wave,
 In a vale in the land of Moab
 There lies a lonely grave,
 And no man knows that sepulcher,
 And no man saw it e'er;
 For the angels of God upturned the sod,
 And laid the dead man there.

That was the grandest funeral
 That ever passed on earth;
 But no man heard the trampling,
 Or saw the train go forth—
 Noiselessly as the daylight
 Comes back when night is done,
 And the crimson streaks on ocean's cheek
 Grows into the great sun.

Noiselessly as the springtime
 Her crown of verdure weaves,
 And all the trees on all the hills
 Open their thousand leaves;
 So without sound of music,
 Or the voice of them that wept,
 Silently down from the mountain's crown
 The great procession swept.

Perchance the bald old eagle
 On gray Beth-Peor's height,
 Out of his lonely eyrie
 Looked on the wondrous sight;
 Perchance the lion stalking
 Still shuns that hallowed spot,
 For beast and bird have seen and heard
 That which man knoweth not.

But when the warrior dieth,
 His comrades in the war,
 With arms reversed and muffled drum,
 Follow his funeral car;
 They show the banners taken,
 They tell his battles won,
 And after him lead his masterless steed,
 While peals the minute gun.



Jerusalem Camp—(1) A welcome visitor. (2) Letters from home

Amid the noblest of the land
We lay the sage to rest,
And give the bard an honored place,
With costly marble drest,
In the great minster transept
Where lights like glories fall,
And the organ rings, and the sweet choir sings
Along the emblazoned wall.

This was the truest warrior
That ever buckled sword,
This the most gifted poet
That ever breathed a word;
And never earth's philosopher
Traced with his golden pen,
On the deathless page, truths half so sage
As he wrote down for men.

And had he not high honor—
The hillside for a pall,
To lie in state while angels wait
With stars for tapers tall,
And the dark rock pines, like tossing plumes,
Over his bier to wave,
And God's own hand in that lonely land,
To lay him in the grave?

In that strange grave without a name,
Whence his uncoffined clay
Shall break again, O wondrous thought!
Before the Judgment Day,
And stand with glory wrapt around
On the hills he never trod,
And speak of the strife that won our life,
With the Incarnate Son of God.

O lonely grave in Moab's land!
O dark Beth-Peor's hill!
Speak to these curious hearts of ours,
And teach them to be still.
God hath His mysteries of grace,
Ways that we cannot tell;
He hides them deep, like the hidden sleep
Of him he loved so well.

APPENDIX I

DESERT TEMPERATURES, FEBRUARY 18 TO MARCH 11, 1909

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Temperature.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Level.</i>
Feb. 18	59° F.	Wells of Moses.....	Sea-level.
" 19	52° F.	"	"
" 20	53° F.	Wady Sudr.....	"
" 21	53° F.	Elim	500 feet.
" 22		Tent blown down.....	"
" 23	51° F.	"
" 24	45° F.	Nubk ul Budra.....	951 "
" 25	45° F.	Feiran.....	1017 "
" 26	42° F.	"	2050 "
" 27	46° F.	Sinai... ..	5265 "
" 28	45° F.	"	(?)8234 "
March 1	37° F.	"	7130 "
" 2	34° F.	"	4888 "
" 3	46° F.	Wady es Saal.....	4281 "
" 4	52° F.	Wady es Shukaa.....	2813 "
" 5	62° F.	Wady el Ain.....	754 "
" 6	63° F.	Jebel Aswal.....	Sea-level.
" 7	61° F.	"	"
" 8	49° F.	Akaba.....	"
" 9	49° F.	"	"
" 10	43° F.	Abu Jiddeh.....	1591 feet.
" 11	42° F.	Guwairah.....	2952 "

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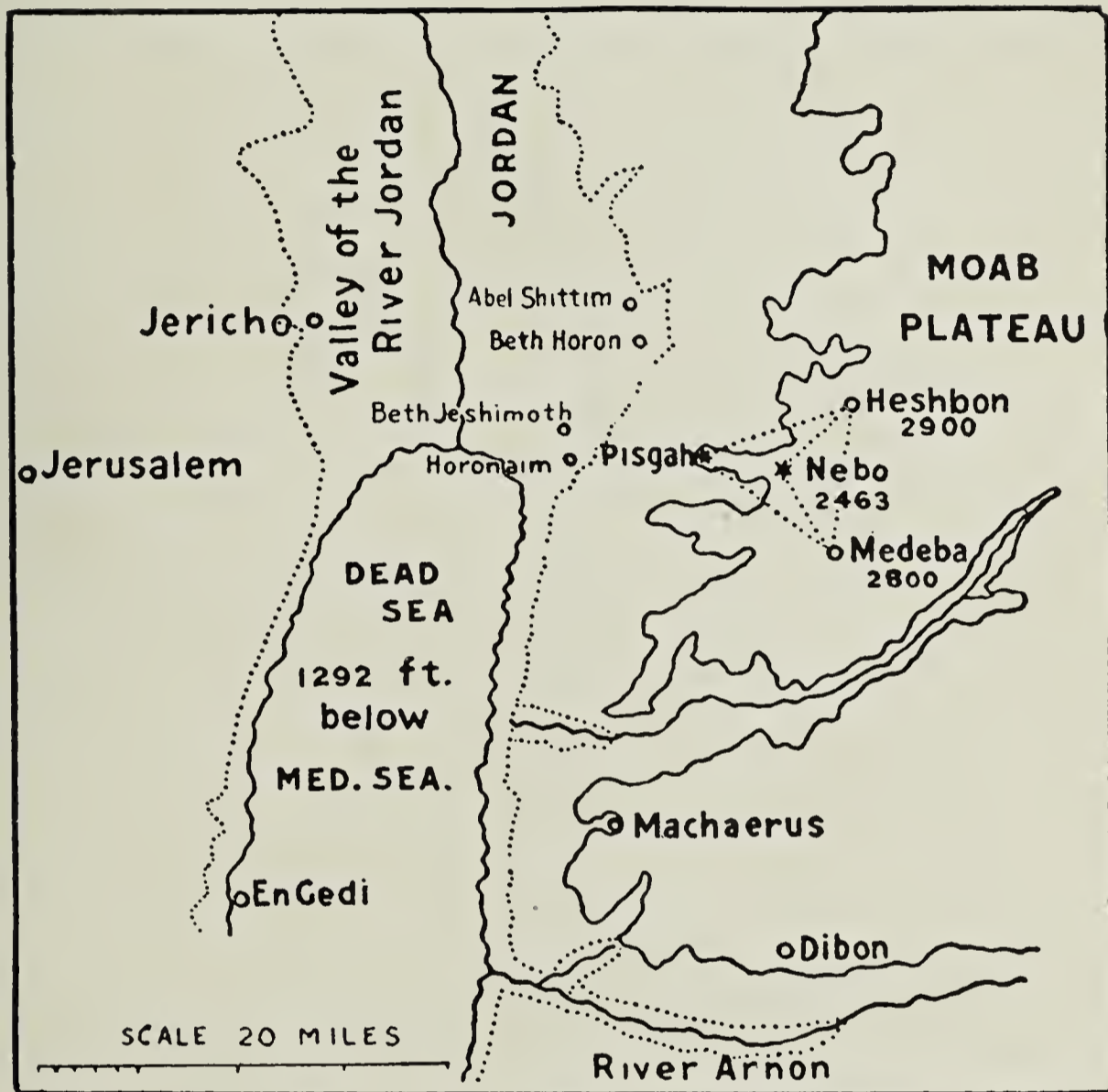
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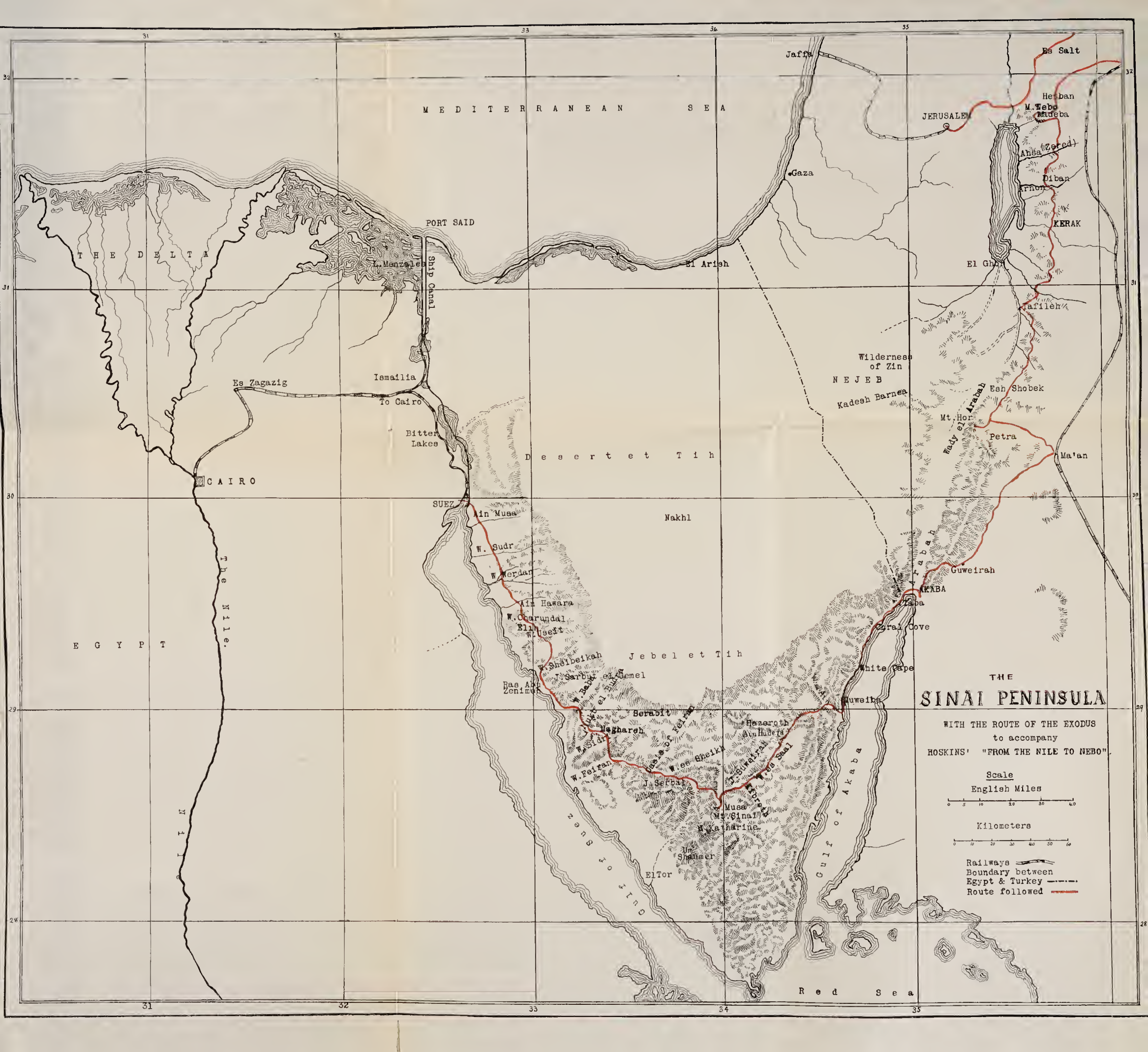
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Mount Nebo and Vicinity

Dotted line, - level of Mediterranean Sea. All within it *below* sea level.

All east of waving line of Moab Plateau is 2,000 to 3,000 feet above level of Mediterranean Sea.



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P O R T S A I D

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E s Z a g a z i g

B i t t e r L a k e s

C A I R O

S U E Z

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A i n H a w a r a

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

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to accompany
HOSKINS' "FROM THE NILE TO NEBO"

Scale
English Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40

Kilometers
0 10 20 30 40

Railways 
Boundary between
Egypt & Turkey 
Route followed 

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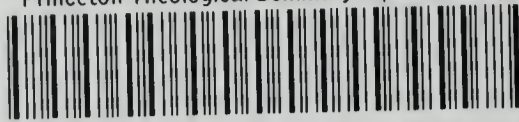
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